UGUST 12, 1991 49145 $2.95

The Trials of Clarence Thomas, by William McGurn

NATIONAL REVIEW

HE GULF:
ILL WE STAY?

SINGLE SEX AND THE GIRL

Joseph Sobran
And John Simon
On Madonna

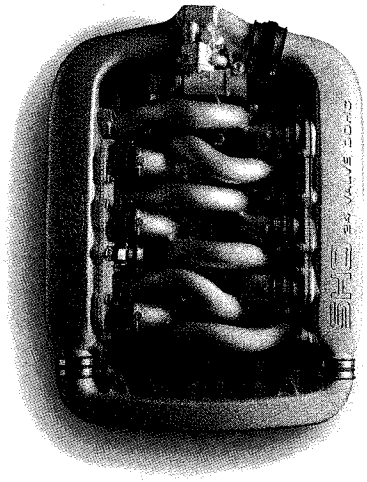
TRICKING DICK

The Other
Watergate Coverup
By Herbert S. Parmet

JUL 29

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We've mixed business with pleasure.



2 4 - V A L V E

2 2 0 H P

F O R D

T A U R U S

S H O

Executive conference room.

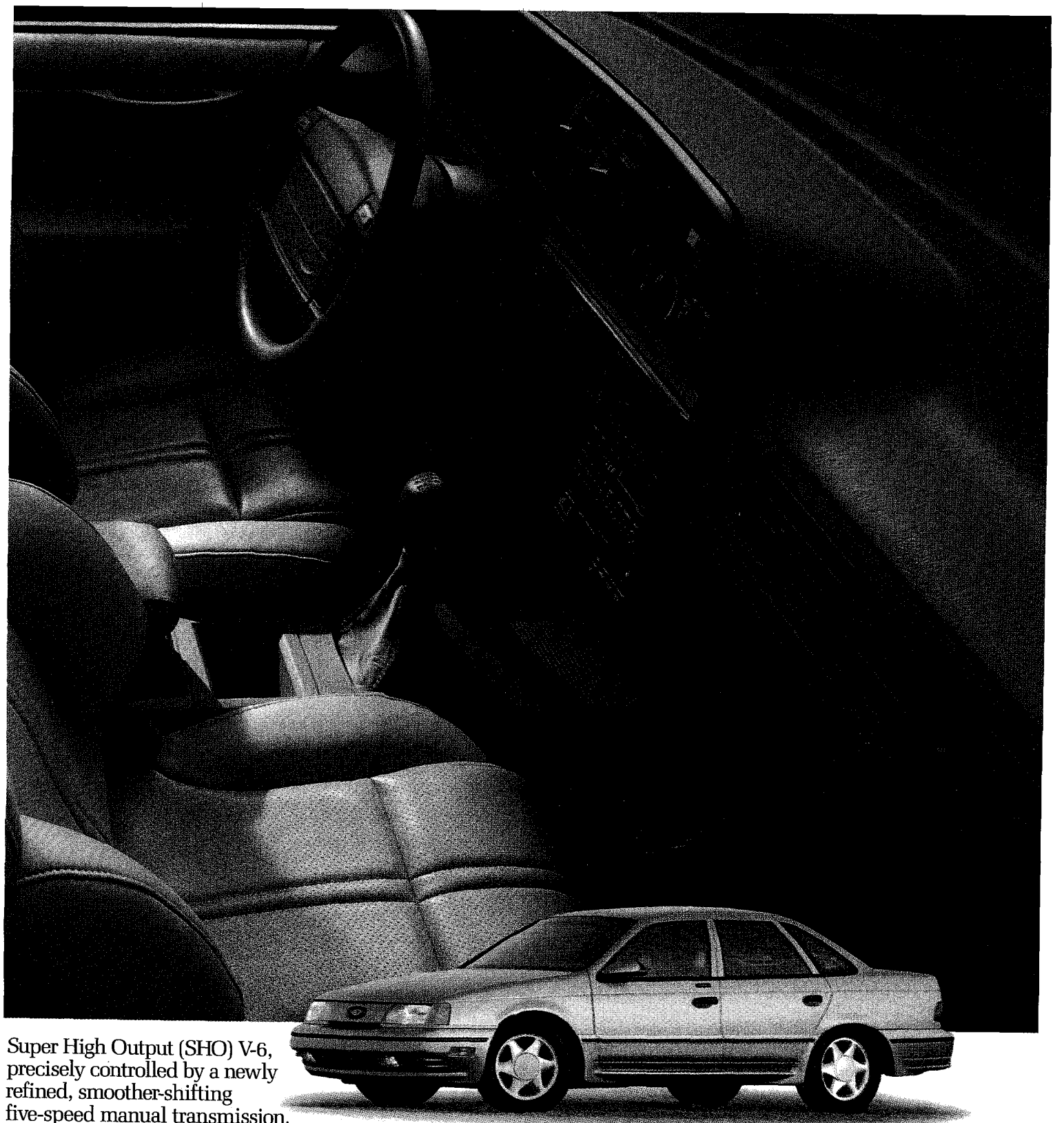
When your career's on the fast track, you need a car that belongs there. The Taurus SHO. Its distinctive appointments include fully-articulated sport seats (leather trim optional) and performance instrumentation. The Taurus SHO is perfect for a closed conference, even if your only meeting is with the available JBL stereo and your favorite compact disc.

The business end.

But your executive image doesn't have to be conservative. Nothing sets you apart like Taurus SHO's hidden asset; a 24-valve, 220 horsepower

JUL 29

LICENSED TO
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Super High Output (SHO) V-6, precisely controlled by a newly refined, smoother-shifting five-speed manual transmission.

Performing assets.

Rounding out Taurus SHO's portfolio are a special sports suspension, 4-wheel disc anti-lock brakes, and standard driver's side air bag supplemental restraint system to be used with your safety belt. And with new 16" cast aluminum wheels, the SHO will quickly improve your outlook.

The Taurus SHO. Because making work a pleasure is the essence of good business.

Buckle up—together we can save lives.

Ford Taurus SHO

Have you driven a Ford...lately? Ford

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

AUGUST 12, 1991 VOL. XLIII, NO. 14

Cover Story

32 ***Single Sex and the Girl***
Joseph Sobran ponders the success of the girl who defines art as what people try to censor. Does that tremendous presence really emanate from a vacuum? . . . **John Simon**'s answer: Commercially, hype makes right.

Articles

23 ***On the Scene***
H. N. Kelley wanders the halls at the Episcopal convention in search of religion. . . . **Charles Sykes** reports on Wisconsin's latest battling reformer: conservative Governor Tommy Thompson. . . . As the first anniversary of Saddam's invasion of Kuwait approaches, what **Donald Kirk** hears in the region is "Yankee go home, please."

36 ***The Trials of Clarence Thomas***
William McGurn admits that President Bush's Supreme Court nominee is dangerous—to liberal Democrats and civil-rights professionals.

40 ***Mismanaged Trade***
Our textile import quotas and tariffs cost American consumers $40 billion a year. On the other hand, **James Bovard** points out, they also help keep the Third World dependent on our aid.

42 ***The Elephant's Best Friend***
The proven best way to protect endangered species, reports **Stephen M. Weaver**, is property rights—and hunting.

43 ***An Attack of Pactitis***
As Eurobureaucrats shake hands with the *nomenklatura*, **Brian Crozier** asks whether we can survive any more international cooperation.

44 ***Safely Executed***
The death penalty can be cruel, unusual, even unjust. Still, argues **Christie Davies**, sometimes this punishment fits the criminal.

Books, Arts & Manners

46 Was Watergate a conspiracy to oust Nixon? **Herbert S. Parmet** weighs the evidence presented by Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin in *Silent Coup* and concludes that with conspiracies going on all around him, Nixon got caught in the crossfire. . . . **David Brudnoy** draws a few lessons about the medium and its mediums from Reuven Frank's *Out of Thin Air* and Liz Trotta's *Fighting for Air*, two critical memoirs of network news. . . . Is there really such a thing as "neoconservative criticism"? **Jeffrey Hart** considers Mark Winchell's project in the light of Joseph Epstein's latest collection, which is first rate however labeled. . . . **Ralph de Toledano** considers candidates for the Pantheon, from Copland to Bartók to Berg. . . . Broadway is bleak, but Off Broadway is bright; **Eva Resnikova** offers a guide to where the best drama has gone. . . . **Florence King** says it's not true she dislikes people; she likes misanthropes.

Sections

4 ***Letters***
8 ***From the Editor***
10 ***On the Record***
12 ***The Week***
30 help
50 ***Random Notes***
59 ***Trans-O-Gram***
62 ***On the Right***
64 ***Off the Record***

Cover photo by John Roca/LGI Photos

The Audit Bureau

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January and one issue in March, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and additional mailing offices. ©National Review, Inc., 1991. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editor, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, P.O. Box 96639, Washington, D.C. 20077-7471; phone, 800-222-6806, Monday–Friday, 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. Eastern time. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct classified advertising inquiries to: Classifieds Dept., National Review, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016 or call 212-679-7330.

RATES: $57.00 a year (24 issues). Add $21.50 for Canada and other foreign subscriptions, per year. (All payments in U.S. currency.) The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage or, better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The world's smallest 12-band receiver.

Includes digital clock, travel alarm, headphones, deluxe travel pouch, and Grundig guide book. Measures approximately 3½" x 5⅝" x 1¼" and weighs a mere *14 ounces!*

The world is at your fingertips with...

The Grundig World Band Receiver

Announcing a revolutionary breakthrough in world-band radios...from Grundig, the leader in German shortwave electronics. This miracle of miniaturization is not sold in U.S. stores or catalogs—only Willabee & Ward has it!

Tune in to events around the globe.

The RK-709 is the world's smallest 12-band receiver—AM, FM, FM Stereo (with headphones, included), and *all* 9 major shortwave bands. Small enough to fit into a pocket, briefcase, or purse, yet big on features. Telescoping antenna pulls signals from anywhere in the world. Listen to legendary BBC newscasts—the best in the world. Hear what Radio Moscow is saying about Gorbachev, Yeltsin, and President Bush. Listen to the Voice of America when you travel abroad. Follow a crisis or breaking story wherever you are and no matter where it's happening: Baghdad, Panama, Beijing or Tokyo.

You don't have to pack a travel alarm, either.

You won't need it—this is better. The RK-709 wakes you with the radio or its ingenious "Humane Wake System"—the tone begins softly and gathers volume until you wake up! The digital, liquid-crystal display alarm clock features a sleep timer that turns off the radio 10 to 60 minutes after you turn in!

Only $159!
Payable in monthly installments.

The Grundig RK-709 is only $159 (plus $7.50 shipping/handling), payable in convenient monthly credit card installments. Includes deluxe carrying pouch and stereo headphones. One year manufacturer's warranty on parts and labor. 30 day money back guarantee. Order today!

© MBI 1991

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 623-108

Willabee & Ward
47 Richards Avenue
Norwalk, Conn. 06857

Satisfaction guaranteed.

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534 Ext. 623-108

Please send me _____ Grundig RK-709 World Band Receiver(s). For each receiver, charge 4 installments of $41.63* to my credit card:

☐ MasterCard ☐ VISA
☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card # _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Signature _____
(All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to pay by credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my check for $159* plus $7.50 shipping/handling, a total of $166.50 for each receiver.

*Any applicable sales tax will be billed with shipment.

Phone orders shipped within 2-4 weeks.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS

Rights and Rules

When I saw the headline on Midge Decter's article ["The ACLU's Next Target," June 24] I ascribed to it a reasonable measure of intellectual honesty and thought it might be about our recent efforts to find meaningful remedies for the persistent problems of race relations or our alliance with Representative Henry Hyde to pass a law protecting freedom of speech on college campuses.

But no, Mrs. Decter was engaged in a more trivial pursuit: she decided to transform a couple of cases brought by our Southern California affiliate against certain discriminatory practices by the Boy Scouts into a concerted national campaign by the ACLU to "target" the Boy Scouts, and came close to saying that this was part of an even larger effort to exorcise the "love of God and country" from the land.

Mrs. Decter may see in these two cases evidence of the demons that seem to haunt her, but that is no reason for others to share her fantasy.

1. The ACLU has no desire to exorcise the love of God and country from the land. On the contrary, what drives us is precisely a love of country—a country which had the unique wisdom at its outset to establish individual liberty as part of the common good, and devise a legal system to protect it. It is neither fair nor accurate for Mrs. Decter to assume that her brand of patriotism is the only kind there is. We like to think that an unswerving devotion to the values of individual liberty reflected in the Constitution is the highest form of patriotism. Americans may disagree about how those values apply in a given situation, but such disagreement ought not give rise to jingoistic accusations of unpatriotic tendencies.

As to the love of God, we try our best to protect every American's right to express that love or not, without interference or support by the government—and without suffering discrimination in employment, housing, education, or public accommodations.

2. We believe that the Boy Scouts are a public accommodation. Although privately run and organized—as are hotels, restaurants, and bus companies—they are different from a youth club organized by a church or synagogue for its religious adherents. The Boy Scouts are more like the Little League in that respect—privately run but open to all. Surely we would not want to permit the Little League or the Boy Scouts to prohibit Jewish or Moslem children from participating, or require of those children an expression of fidelity to "Our Lord Jesus Christ" as a condition of participation. Yet for children whose families follow a non-theistic religion or are atheists, that is precisely the result of requiring them to express a belief in God, a religious belief contrary to their own. Mrs. Decter trivializes that requirement, by suggesting that no one could possibly be offended by invoking God's name if defined "so loosely." But it is not for Mrs. Decter—or the Boy Scouts—to judge other people's religious beliefs. Nine-year-old boys should not be made to bend their knee to someone else's orthodoxy in order to be allowed to go camping with their peers. That is what the parents of these boys thought, and the ACLU of Southern California decided to defend them. It can be argued, of course, that the Boy Scouts are not a public accommodation and should retain the right to exclude anyone they choose. But California law suggests otherwise. In any event, those of us who oppose the exclusion of children for refusing to take a religious oath cannot fairly be accused of trying to "shield" children from the love of God. The religious upbringing of small children is up to their parents to decide. It is not up to the ACLU; it is not up to Midge Decter; and it ought not be up to the Boy Scouts.

3. Whatever one's view on this Boy Scout case, it cannot by itself, or together with the one other case we have involving the Boy Scouts, be fairly said to constitute "The ACLU's Next Target." The ACLU handles thousands of cases each year. No such cases have ever been brought, or even discussed, by the national organization. To my knowledge, no local affiliate of the ACLU other than the Southern California affiliate has brought such a case. And these cases are but two among hundreds the Southern California affiliate has brought.

I do not apologize for these cases, and the ACLU remains committed to the legal principle that businesses and publicly oriented community organizations like the Boy Scouts should not be permitted to discriminate on any arbitrary basis, such as religious belief. But to suggest, as Mrs. Decter does, that these two cases somehow represent a major new ACLU "target" reflects more about her state of mind than the ACLU's actual program.

Ira Glasser
Executive Director, ACLU
New York, N.Y.

Oh, dear: "jingoistic accusations of unpatriotic tendencies," etc. Lighten up, Mr. Glasser; the Constitution to which you declare yourself so unswervingly devoted could neither have been indited in the first place nor sustained for two centuries beneath so elephantine a tread.

As for any actual line of argument to be discerned beneath the thundering, it turns on the single assertion of the ACLU's belief that the Boy Scouts, like the Little League, are privately run but open to all and hence a "public accommodation." Let us, as they say in freshman philosophy, examine that assumption. Children who join up with Little League are required to play baseball; what is more, they are required to play baseball by a set of rules. A child in Little League may not exercise his constitutional right to turn up on the ball field and play some other game—a right he surely enjoys in private—nor, once assigned to a position, may he in any manner whatsoever determine for himself which rules to obey. Playing baseball, and playing it, indeed, in competition, is the declared purpose of Little League, just as the declared purpose of the Boy Scouts, laid down at the organization's founding and made known in its every public communication since, is to instruct boys in certain precepts: loyalty, honesty, kindness, reverence, and a belief in doing one's duty to God and country. No one—it is embarrassing to have to point out to Mr. Glasser—is forced to join the organization, and anyone is perfectly free to organize for his children a group of campers and scouts constituted otherwise.

If civil liberties are ever destroyed in this country, it won't be by boys taking oaths but rather by people intent on stretching the delicate and complex social fabric of this free society beyond its breaking point. —MD

Stay the Course

Conservatism is substantially a move-

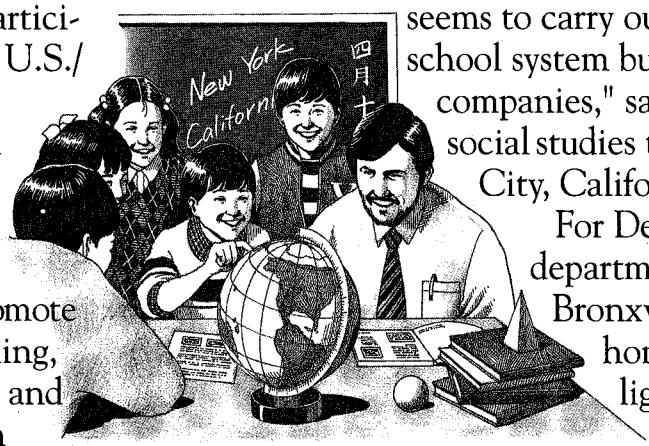
(Continues on page 61)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Japan and America: Where the Twain Meet

"Oh, East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet," Kipling wrote long ago, and even today that saying sums up the feelings of many Americans and Japanese toward each other. But William Brinker, a high school social studies teacher from Farmington Hills, Michigan, disagrees. "The gulf between our cultures exists, but it can be bridged. We just have to work harder at understanding one another."

Brinker was a participant in the annual U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program sponsored by Hitachi. Now in its fourth year, this exchange helps promote mutual understanding, cultural awareness, and friendship between our societies on a personal level.



Since 1987, the program has sponsored the visits of 16 American teachers to Japan and five Japanese to the United States. Last year saw the largest exchange so far: four American and three Japanese teachers. For three weeks, they toured the sites, taught children, and lived in the homes of their hosts. For most, it was their first direct exposure to the culture they had so often taught about. Even for Brinker, who had spent time in Japan 36 years ago as a serviceman, the experience was eye-opening. "I came away with a much better understanding of the Japanese people," he says.

As teachers, the American visitors were struck by the way Japanese parents support the school system and the respect students show in the classroom. "The support and love of the family seems to carry out not only in the school system but also into their companies," says Greg Alvarado, a social studies teacher from Daly City, California.

For Delia Grogan-Selby, a department chairperson from Bronxville, New York, the home stay was a highlight of her visit. "I felt like I had parachuted into my own family, but it was Japan," she says.

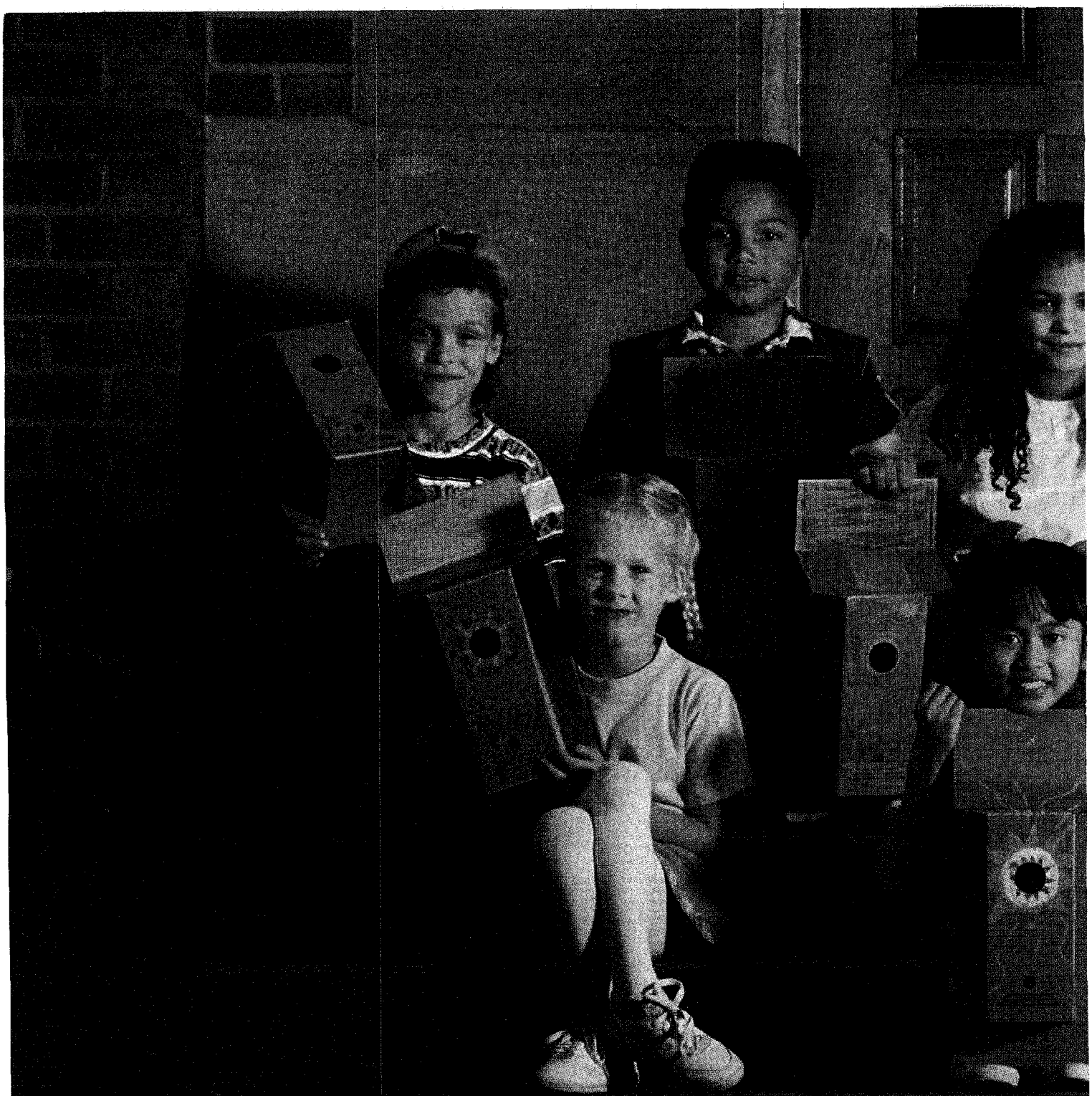
Hitachi is proud to sponsor the U.S./Japan Teachers Exchange Program. We believe its positive impact will multiply as returning teachers share their personal experiences with students, colleagues, and friends at home.

For more information, write: Hitachi, P.O. Box 7515, Grand Central Station, New York, NY, 10163.

HITACHI®

© 1991 HITACHI

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

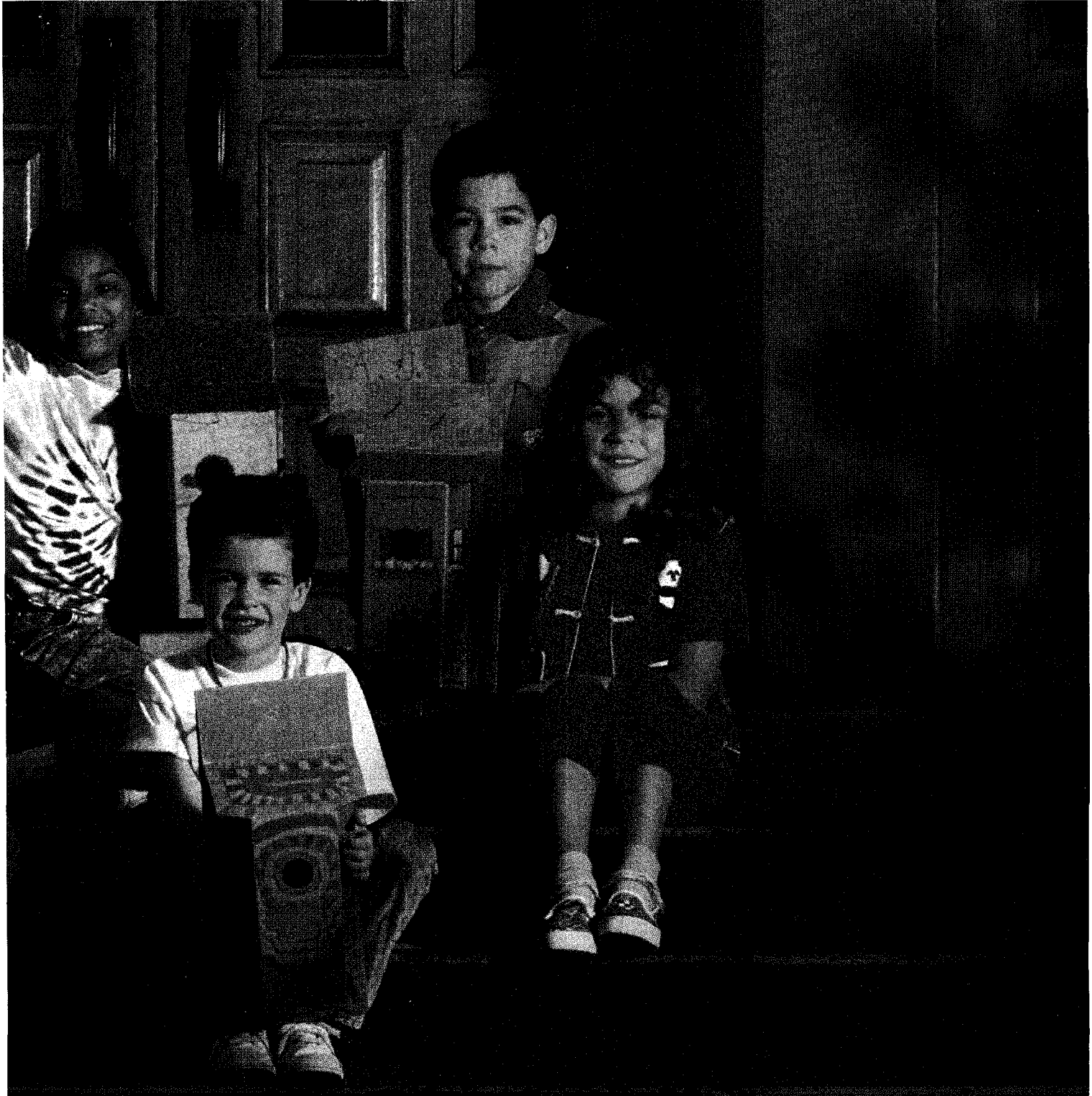


To the birds, it matters very little that these boxes of recycled paper reflect a child's creativity and involvement.

But to the environmental education program that distributes these take-home nests, and Phillips Petroleum, who sponsors them, it matters a great deal.

Because as life unfolds inside these cardboard walls,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



so too does an enduring understanding and respect for the wonder of it all. Helping students realize a greater awareness and responsibility for the environment.

And confirming our belief that when you teach a child about nature, he learns facts about nature.

But bond a child with nature, and he learns to care.

PHILLIPS PETROLEUM COMPANY PHILLIPS 66

For more information on the Bird Box Program and what we are doing to protect our environment, write: Bird Box, Phillips Petroleum Company, 160-4 Phillips Building, Bartlesville, Oklahoma 74004

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATIONAL REVIEW

Issue date: August 12, 1991
Print date: July 24, 1991

John O'Sullivan *Editor*
Wick Allison *Publisher*

Senior Editors
William J. Bennett / Richard Brookhiser
Priscilla L. Buckley / Jeffrey Hart
Peter W. Rodman
Linda Bridges *Managing Editor*
Brad Miner *Literary Editor*
William McGurn *Washington Bureau Chief*
Paul Hebert *Art Director*
Mark Cunningham *Article Editor*
Geoffrey Morris *Executive Editor*
Matthew Scully *Assistant Literary Editor*
Radek Sikorski *Roving Correspondent*
Jack Fowler *Congressional Reporter*
Frances Bronson *Executive Secretary*
Tony Savage *Assistant to the Editor-at-Large*
Editorial Associates
G. Allen Randolph / Jane Buckley Smith
Editorial Services
Michael Ashton / Millie Fletcher
Michael A. Watkins
Dorothy McCartney *Research Director*
John J. Virtes *Librarian*
Ed Rubenstein *Economics Analyst*
Research Assistants
Russell Jenkins
Contributing Editors
Tom Bethell / Eliot A. Cohen
Brian Crozier / W. H. von Dreele
Nika Hazelton / D. Keith Mano
Richard John Neuhaus / John Simon
Ralph de Toledano / Ernest van den Haag
Timothy J. Wheeler
Joseph Sobran *Critic-at-Large*

Edward A. Capano *Associate Publisher*
Robert F. Sennott Jr. *Advertising Director*
James X. Kilbridge *Chief Financial Officer*
Daniel T. Merritt *Marketing Director*
Rose Flynn DeMaio *Treasurer*
Arthur F. Stetzner *Fund Director*
Virginia L. Bauer *Circulation Director*
Jason Ng *Circulation Manager*
Patricia B. Bozell *Special Projects Editor*
Lisa Nelson *Special Projects Director*
Catherine Moraetis *Assistant to the Publisher*
Business Services
William P. Bolan / Christine W. Heller
Kevin Longstreet / Jerry Pellecchia

Contributors
Aram Bakshian Jr. / David Brudnoy
John Chamberlain / Mona Charen
John R. Coyne Jr. / Dinesh D'Souza
M. Stanton Evans / Frank J. Gaffney Jr.
James Gardner / George Gilder
Victor Gold / Malcolm Hancock
Henry Hazlitt / Charles R. Kesler
James Jackson Kilpatrick / Nicholas King
Jan Lukas / Forrest McDonald
Charles Burton Marshall / Thomas Molnar
Joe Mysak / Gerhart Niemeyer
Michael Novak / Grover Joseph Rees
Alan Reynolds / William F. Rickenbacker
Selden Rodman / William A. Rusher
J. O. Tate / Terry Teachout
S. L. Varnado / Richard Vigilante
Charles Wallen Jr. / Chilton Williamson Jr.
Foreign Contributors
Anthony Lejeune *London*
Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn *Munich*
Donald Coxe *Toronto*
Robert S. Strother *Cuernavaca*
Richard C. Carpenter *Athens*

William F. Buckley Jr. *Editor-at-Large*

FROM THE EDITOR

The Anti-Federalist

■ A few issues ago, we published three articles on "the new Europe." To my slight surprise, I received a letter almost by return congratulating NATIONAL REVIEW on finally waking up to the threat posed to U.S. interests by trends toward a federal Europe.

My surprise, however, was not that someone should express such alarm, but that he should feel NATIONAL REVIEW had been backward in sounding the tocsin. We have regularly warned that a federal European Community would tend toward bureaucracy, interventionism, and protectionism and that the Atlantic trade wars these provoked would weaken the common sympathies underlying Western defense.

I almost began to fear confusion with Cato the Elder, who, as Western Civ graduates will recall, was forever interrupting Senate debates with the refrain, "Carthage must be destroyed." Read: Fortress Europa must be destroyed. Or, to translate into the more pacific terms of this controversy, the U.S. should encourage Europe to develop as a loose confederation along free-market, free-trade lines, encompassing the new democracies of Eastern Europe and gradually eliminating trade barriers with the U.S.

Now, it seems, everybody's saying it. Secretary of State James Baker delivered a major speech in Berlin last month in which he quietly undermined forty years of State Department orthodoxy favoring narrow European integration by calling for a "Euro-Atlantic community." His speech was "the vision thing" and understandably light on details, but such a community would presumably include the Atlantic Free Trade Area advocated by Margaret Thatcher in her recent speeches over here. East European leaders, anxious not to be permanently exiled from prosperity and stability by a protectionist "wealth wall" between the EC and themselves, seek both entry into the community and continuing links between the U.S. and this wider Europe. Czech President Vaclav Havel recently described the U.S.–Europe security link as "inevitable, logical, and legitimate" and underpinned by a "spiritual, cultural, political, and economic closeness." And now Pat Buchanan, the voice of American nationalism, points out that "the U.S. of Europe will be a socialist superstate that promises to be a protectionist rival of the U.S." He calls for Americans to back the "resistance" that conservative and classical liberal Europeans are mounting against what a wit has called the European "federasts."

Interestingly, federasts like President Mitterrand favor not only a Europe run from Brussels, but also a Soviet Union run from Moscow, and a Yugoslavia run from Belgrade. Their instinct is to prop up centralized bureaucracies everywhere. Nomenklatura shall speak to nomenklatura.

But when Jim Baker, Margaret Thatcher, Vaclav Havel, and Pat Buchanan are all on the same side, then a powerful alliance exists for liberty and against bureaucracy.

And here we thought we were isolated eccentrics.

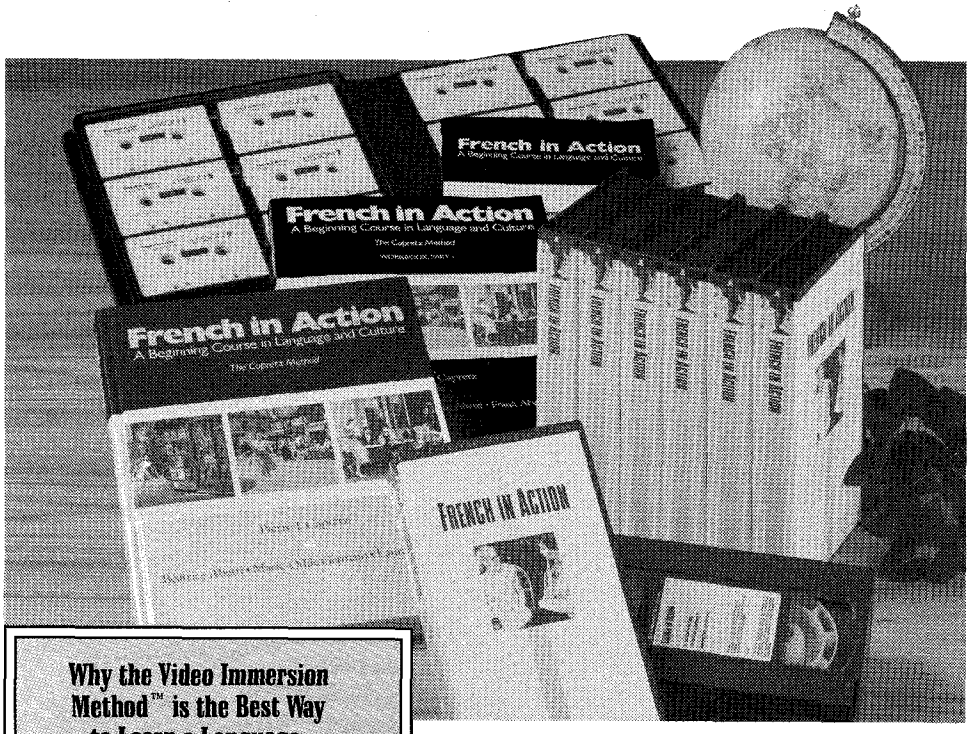
■ As alert readers will have noticed, D. Keith Mano's "Gimlet Eye" column has not appeared for some months. The reason for this is a cheerful one. Keith's latest novel, *Topless*, has been grabbed by Hollywood for the traditional six-figure sum (which buys a lot of gimlets), and the author intends to devote himself to screenwriting for a while. We miss Keith's spiky wit and trust he will return in due course, loaded with wealth and Oscars.

Our new "Gimlet Eye" belongs to Florence King, the author of *Confessions of a Failed Southern Lady*, and *O Wasp, Where Is Thy Sting*, who will read the entrails of modern life in every other issue. I welcome her to NATIONAL REVIEW's extended non-traditional family. Do not be misled by the praise for misanthropes in her first column. She is not usually so charitable.

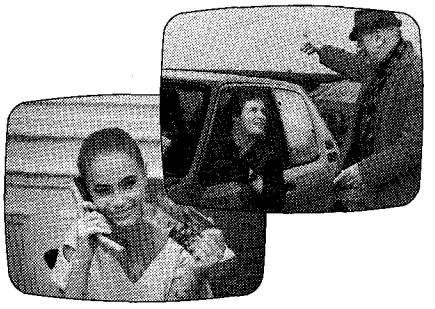
—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Video Immersion Method™ Makes All Other Language Courses Obsolete!


French in Action
A Beginning Course in Language and Culture
The Capretz Method
French in Action
A Beginning Course in Language and Culture
The Capretz Method
French in Action
A Beginning Course in Language and Culture
The Capretz Method
FRENCH IN ACTION

Now, on home *video*, the most powerful language course ever created.



From asking directions to doing business, French in Action *brings French to life... on video! Includes everything you need: 26 lessons on 7 video cassettes, 14 audio cassettes, a study guide, a text book and a workbook.*

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

French in Action *was developed with funding from The Annenberg/CPB Project.*

© 1990 MBI

Why the Video Immersion Method™ is the Best Way to Learn a Language.

The language teaching technique of **"immersion"** has long been recognized by experts for its effectiveness.

The *Video Immersion Method*™ goes one step further. Now, through video, the student is immersed in the **life and language** of the foreign country — **without leaving home, and at a fraction of the cost of other immersion courses.** Compare!

Immersion Course	Site	Cost
Resident	Tours, France	$4,000*†
Commercial	New York, NY	$5,500*
University	Hanover, NH	$3,000*
VIDEO IMMERSION METHOD™	**Your Own Home**	**$ 295**

*Estimated cost.
†Includes airfare.

Video Immersion Method™ Course in Spanish & German, Too!

Developed at U.C.L.A. for the Defense Language Institute, Video Immersion Method™ German includes 13 hours of video instruction on 7 cassettes, 14 audio cassettes, a textbook, a Student's Guide plus Glossary and Cultural Notes. Video Immersion Method™ Spanish includes 13 hours of video language instruction, 15 audio cassettes in a handsome binder, and a complete course textbook.

■ Yale University, 1956. Pierre Capretz, a young French professor arrives from France with an extraordinary goal...to revolutionize language learning. So anyone could be fluent. Naturally. Easily. Through *immersion* in the foreign tongue.

Now, in 1991, the full power of the Capretz immersion method is available on home video.

Video Revolutionizes Language Learning!

The Video Immersion Method™ teaches French the same natural way you learned English: by seeing, observing and hearing it used in real-life.

You are *immersed* in the life and language of France. Surrounded by the sights and sounds. Exposed to every accent and gesture. A learning experience never before possible in any classroom language course. The full flavor of the language — not just words and verb charts — but the nuances of meaning and usage you can only acquire by *living* a language.

Proven at over 1000 Universities, Educational and Cultural Institutions Worldwide.

Acclaimed worldwide as a revolutionary breakthrough, *French in Action* is used successfully in leading universities around the world!

Experience the power of the Video Immersion Method™ in the comfort of your own home — learn at your own pace — for just $295 (plus $7.50 shipping and handling), payable in eight convenient monthly installments of just $37.81!

The Video Immersion Method™ language course will teach you faster, more effectively, and more enjoyably than any other language course you can acquire or attend — at any price. Your complete satisfaction is guaranteed.

RESERVATION APPLICATION

Video Immersion Method™ Language Courses

The Language Laboratory
88 Long Hill Cross Road
Shelton, Conn. 06484

VHS Only

CALL TOLL-FREE: 1-800-367-4534

Please send me the *Video Immersion Method*™ course(s) I have indicated at $295* for each course (plus $7.50 shipping and handling.) I may return my purchase in its original condition within 30 days for a full refund.

	FRENCH	SPANISH	GERMAN
Quantity:	_____	_____	_____

Name _____
PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Please charge each of 8 monthly installments of $37.81* to my credit card:

☐ VISA ☐ Mastercard
☐ Discover ☐ Amer. Express

Credit Card No. _____ Expiration Date _____

Signature _____ (All orders subject to acceptance.)

☐ I prefer not to use a credit card and will pay by check. Enclosed is my deposit of $122.50* for each course. I will pay the balance as billed in four monthly installments of $45.00* each.

*Applicable sales tax, if any, will be billed with shipment.
Allow 2 to 4 weeks for shipment.
PAL not available.

560-1044

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE RECORD

■ The Mystery of the Missing Votes: When Congressional Black Caucus voted on **Clarence Thomas**'s nomination to the Supreme Court, its spokesman, **Khalil Munir**, announced the vote was 24 to 1 against. **Gus Savage** (D., Ill.) was absent and did not vote; **Gary Franks** (Conn.), the lone black Republican in Congress, voted for Thomas. But, hey presto, the next day, word was that Black Caucus vote against Thomas was 19 to 1, meaning that five black congressmen had somehow dissociated themselves from the original action and were now listed as not voting. "Instead of following black public opinion (which is supportive of Thomas)," commented **Evans & Novak**, "the [Black Caucus] congressmen want to lead it"—minus the five nameless defectors from the original vote. . . . This is not insignificant. Black reaction to Thomas's nomination is mixed and, when opposed, far less violently so by and large than reaction of white liberal community. NAACP's **Benjamin Hooks** asks: "If we decide to oppose him, what is the alternative?" . . . **John Jacob**'s (National Urban League) first reaction was a sober: "I think we have come out of it a lot better than we expected." Subsequently, he announced that the Urban League would be neutral on the nomination, neither supporting nor opposing it. . . . **Racine Winborne**, senior editor of *Baltimore Afro-American*, said what many rank-and-file blacks are thinking: "If the nomination of Judge Thomas gets thrown out, what we run the risk of symbolically is losing the nomination of a black, losing the one black voice on the Court." . . . Columnist **William Raspberry** of *Washington Post* quotes a friend's reaction to Thomas's nomination: "Given a choice between two conservatives, I'll take the one who's been called 'nigger.'" Raspberry goes on to say: "Thomas is sufficiently acquainted with racism to recognize it when it comes before him on the Supreme Court . . . and smart enough to find in the Constitution protection against the presumption of white privilege." . . . *USA Today* poll shows 54 per cent of blacks approving Thomas choice, 17 per cent disapproving. . . . Among the 17 per cent, movie producer **Spike Lee**, quoted in *Newsweek* as calling Thomas "a handkerchief-head, chicken-and-biscuit-eating **Uncle Tom**." . . . Sen. **Sam Nunn**'s statement that he will be proud to introduce his fellow Georgian to Senate Judiciary Committee is big plus for White House. It was the desertion by the generally more conservative Southern Democrats, led by **Howell Heflin** (Ala.), that turned the **Robert Bork** hearings into a rout. The only Southern Democrat who voted for Bork, for the record, was **Fritz Hollings** of South Carolina.

■ Take note: From April to June 1987, **Michael Dukakis**, leading Democratic challenger, raised $4.6 million in campaign funds. In same three months 1991, **Paul Tsongas**, still the only declared Democratic presidential candidate, raised $434,000, and Virginia Gov. **Douglas Wilder**'s exploratory committee reported raising $117,000. . . . Last week House Majority Leader **Richard Gephardt**, characterized by Democratic consultant **Geoffrey Garin** as "clearly the most formidable" potential candidate, took himself out of '92 sweepstakes. . . . Sen. **Al Gore**, expected to announce in the fall, is probably frontrunner, with Sens. **Tom Harkin** (Iowa) and **Jay Rockefeller** (W.Va.) hoping to stir up some enthusiasm. . . . In another vital 1992 race, **Bruce Herschensohn** is getting his act together in run for **Alan Cranston**'s Senate seat. The conservative California TV commentator has lined up former Gov. **George Deukmejian** as honorary campaign chairman and former **Nixon–Reagan** aide **Ken Khachigian** as campaign manager. **Tom Kemp** (**Jack**'s brother) will be chief fundraiser. Herschensohn will face Rep. **Tom Campbell** in GOP primary. Campbell seemed to be doing his best to outrage conservative Californians last week by a) signing a fundraising letter that attacks **Phyllis Schlafly** on behalf of Republicans for Choice, the pro-abortion GOP committee, and b) admitting that he voted for **George McGovern** in 1972. . . . Sen. **Pat Moynihan** outraged at what he called **Carol Iannone**'s "banning" by the Democratic Party (her rejection on a party-line vote as member of the NEH council) added: "What greater fortune could befall an American intellectual in the decadent fin de siècle. I wish her well."

© Matt, *Daily Telegraph*, London / Rothco

"Is this beach leaded or unleaded?"

■ Young America's Foundation announces $10,000 **Engalitcheff** Prize for a "college faculty member who swims against the prevailing stream of political correctness and intolerance." Nominations should be sent to: YAF, 110 Elden St., Herndon, Va. 22070 between September 1, 1991, and March 15, 1992. . . . Applications for National Journalism Center's fall-session editorial and economic fellowships (12 weeks, $100-a-week stipend) should be received by August 20. For info contact: **M. Stanton Evans**, **Chris Warden**, or **Mal Kline**, 800 Maryland Ave., N.E., Washington D.C. 20002; phone 202-544-1333.

■ "Did everybody in the back hear **Barbara Walters**'s question?" asked **Dan Quayle** at a crowded Manhattan breakfast. (He had been asked if he would be competent to step into the Presidency.) When the crowd yelled No, Quayle went on: "Barbara Walters said, 'Mr. Vice President, you are doing one outstanding job.'"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Let the experts scoff. My child knows math."

Parents in the 19th century didn't talk like that. *Of course* their children learned math. They used Ray's Arithmetics — 120 million of them. It was the standard text in an era that produced geniuses like Edison and Ford, and kids who routinely multiplied 9 x 7 — in the second grade.

Your children can too. No longer do they have to feel helpless without a computer. All they need are these classic texts...

Save $80

RAY'S ARITHMETICS

8 Volumes ★ Publisher's Price $89.95 — YOUR Price Only $9.95

8 Volumes in a Handsome Matched Set

RAY'S NEW PRIMARY ARITHMETIC. Grades 1-2. By the end of these 94 pages, your child will know how many square yards in 63 square feet.

RAY'S INTELLECTUAL ARITHMETIC. Grades 3-4; 140 pages. Not many students in junior high could handle these questions.

RAY'S PRACTICAL ARITHMETIC. Grades 5-6; 339 pages. A majority in senior high would flunk here.

RAY'S NEW TEST EXAMPLES IN ARITHMETIC. Grades 5-6. Thousands of questions and answers; 219 pages.

RAY'S NEW HIGHER ARITHMETIC. Grades 7-8; 408 pages. Try these on a cocky college grad.

KEY TO RAY'S NEW HIGHER ARITHMETIC. 213 pages of answers, with explanations.

KEY TO RAY'S NEW ARITHMETICS. Answer key, 1-6. 256 pages.

PARENT-TEACHER GUIDE FOR RAY'S NEW ARITHMETICS. New 186-page handbook by educator Ruth Beechick supplements Ray for today's parents and teachers, shows those with no teaching experience how to use the texts.

If computers and the new math are leaving your children mathematically illiterate, these marvelous books will literally change their lives. Step back into a world where fundamentals are king, and sanity reigns. Highlights of Ray's Arithmetics:

- ✓ They proceed step-by-step, always in an orderly fashion.
- ✓ They stress mental arithmetic, making it precede written work — thus assuring that the children understand and can *use* each lesson.
- ✓ They challenge youngsters with puzzle-like problems drawn from everyday life — and underscore the lessons by weaving in the rules and arithmetical principles.
- ✓ They review — constantly. (Pardon the oldfashioned word, but Ray knew the value of *drilling*.)

How you can use these books to teach your children — or to supplement their schoolwork

Tens of millions of American boys and girls learned from these books, all the way up through basic algebra and geometry. Millions more learned at home. Yet many of their teachers had never gone beyond the little red schoolhouse themselves. And many of those who learned at home learned from mothers who had only a few years of schooling.

Ray's Arithmetics made the difference. Four of these books are Teacher Guides, for your use. So don't feel uneasy because you've never taught before. The Teacher Guides give you everything you need...

• Detailed lesson plans • Typical day and week schedules • The scope and sequence for each grade • Hundreds of questions and answers — with the answers *explained* whenever they're not obvious. (A great time-saver. You can work out the questions yourself. But Ray saves you the time, and also provides you with a good explanation for your young pupil.) • Planning guides • Progress records • Test schedules — with tests and answers, of course • Teaching tips for each grade • EXTRA! 12 pages of arithmetical projects and games for the various grades — to reinforce the lessons and make learning fun

By the time your children finish the eighth grade with Ray, they'll sail through any tests, even for the finest prep schools. In fact, they'll be ready for intermediate algebra and geometry. Better yet, they'll be the *masters* of "number work" — for the rest of their lives. And they'll have learned the essentials of clear, logical, orderly thinking.

Ray Questions the 9-Year-Olds

1. A rides 10 miles in 1¼ hours. B rides 8 miles in 1⅔ hours. How far will B travel while A is traveling 18 miles?
2. The age of A is 5 times the age of B, and the age of B is twice the age of C. A is 45 years older than C. What is the age of each?

★ How to get this $89.95 set for ONLY $9.95 ★

CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB
15 OAKLAND AVENUE • HARRISON, NY 10528

How the Club Works

Every 4 weeks (13 times a year) you get a free copy of the Club Bulletin, which offers you the Featured Selection plus a good choice of Alternates — all of interest to conservatives. ★ If you want the Featured Selection, do nothing. It will come automatically. ★ If you don't want the Featured Selection, or you do want an Alternate, indicate your wishes on the handy card enclosed with your Bulletin and return it by the deadline date. ★ The majority of Club books will be offered at 20-50% discounts, plus a charge for shipping and handling. ★ As soon as you buy and pay for 4 books at regular Club prices, your membership may be ended at any time, either by you or by the Club. ★ If you ever receive a Featured Selection without having had 10 days to decide if you want it, you may return it at Club expense for full credit. ★ Good service. No computers! ★ The Club will offer regular Superbargains, mostly at 70-95% discounts plus shipping and handling. Superbargains do NOT count toward fulfilling your Club obligation, but do enable you to buy fine books at giveaway prices. ★ Only one membership per household.

I enclose $9.95. Please accept my membership in the Club and send me, at no additional cost, the 8-volume set of *Ray's Arithmetics*. I agree to buy 4 additional books at regular Club prices over the next 2 years. I also agree to the Club rules spelled out in this coupon.

☐ I don't care to join the Club but I'm enclosing $89.95 for the 8 volumes. I may return the set in 30 days for full refund if not delighted.

NR-194

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE WEEK

■ Mikhail Gorbachev's proposed platform for the Communist Party renounces Marxism–Leninism, condemns the "crimes of Stalinism," and accepts the legitimacy of religion and private property. For our part, we're thinking of voting for Gus Hall next year.

■ How come Clarence Thomas doesn't take the black establishment's party line on civil rights? To get an answer to this baffling question, the *New York Times* consulted Harvard psychiatrist Alvin Poussaint, who opined that black conservatives feel a "high level" of anger, which "gets displaced on other blacks." So *that's* the reason. This was too much for *New York* magazine's political columnist, Joe Klein, who observed that "the *Times* felt no need to consult a psychiatrist when it profiled Representative Ted Weiss a few days later, even though the congressman's extreme liberal views are much farther removed from the American mainstream than those of Judge Thomas. . . . It seems that while servility may no longer be required of blacks in America, predictability still is."

■ Memo to Clarence Thomas: The Supreme Court needs "diversity"—as long as it's within the "mainstream," of course.

■ There they go again. At 9:50 one night (after most of the press had gone home), U.S. senators acted with rare bipartisan swiftness in voting 53 to 45 to raise their pay by $23,200, to $125,100. The good-government types are heralding this as a victory inasmuch as the senators also agreed to forgo honoraria. Besides, they say, the move only puts them on par with their colleagues in the House, who moved themselves up by the same amount last year. In short, the senators agreed to give up outside speaking income only if John Q. Public forked over the difference. Our solution? *Double* their salaries, halve their staff (no legislature in the free world has the bureaucracy of our Congress), eliminate the franking privilege, require full disclosure—and open up campaigns. Think of how much we'd save government and how much government we'd save.

■ Milton Friedman got it right when it was announced that Alan Greenspan would be nominated to a second four-year term as chairman of the Fed: "As long as it exists, Alan is as good a person as there is." The chairmanship of the Fed encourages those who hold the role to think of the economy in managerial and custodial terms. When the economy is in terrible shape, the management goals can be fairly simple. Greenspan's predecessor, Paul Volcker, walked into the job in 1979, at the peak of double-digit inflation. He crushed it, ruthlessly. When predicaments are less acute, as they have been for Greenspan, the temptation is to micro-manage, which sometimes works, usually doesn't. Ideally, the Fed would be something different: a custodian of a gold standard; a licensing bureau for a world of private currencies; or the night watchman of a regular, automatic increase in the money supply. Until the unlikely day when one of these alternatives comes to pass, Greenspan is an okay man in a less than okay job.

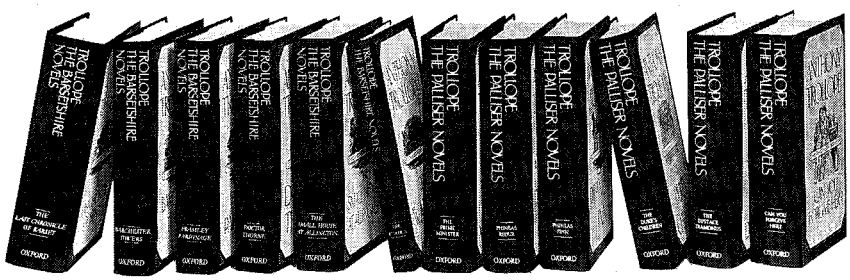
■ When the Heritage Foundation urges the U.S. Government to create a universal health-care system, it's time to pack the bags and leave for Australia, right? Well, perhaps not. Stuart Butler, the author of the proposal, does not call for outright nationalization *à la* Canada and the UK. Nor would he force companies to provide health insurance for employees who now have none. Instead, the Heritage plan would require workers to purchase private health-insurance policies for themselves and their families and empower them to do so with income-tax credits and reductions. There is no free lunch at the Heritage Foundation, however, and employees would be taxed on the value of their "free" employer-provided health insurance. Although high-income

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PERMANENT PLEASURES

Choose one of these fine works and save up to $280.

You simply agree to buy 4 books within the next 2 years.



The Masterworks of Anthony Trollope

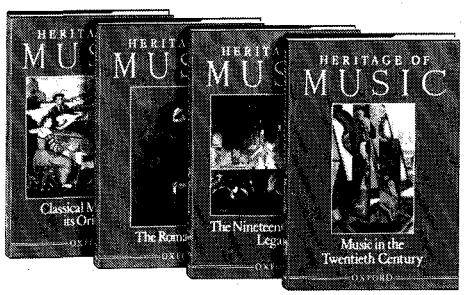
for **$34.95** (Pub. prices total $175)

Anthony Trollope's wonderfully observant look at life in mid-Victorian England. This 12-volume set includes: *Barsetshire Towers; Can You Forgive Her?; Doctor Thorne; The Duke's Children; The Eustace Diamonds; Framley Parsonage; The Last Chronicle of Barset; Phineas Finn; Phineas Redux; The Prime Minister; The Small House at Allington* and *The Warden.*

Joseph Campbell's Historical Atlas of World Mythology

for **$29.95** (Pub. prices total $250)

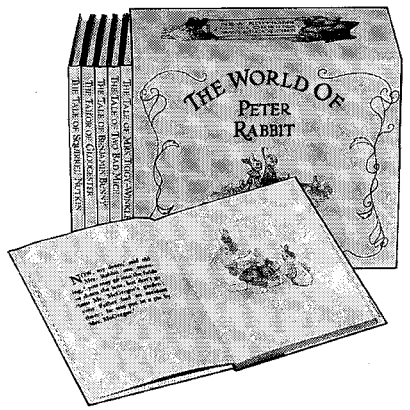
This masterwork—the culmination of Campbell's brilliant career—traces the saga of humankind's spiritual awakening. In five lavishly illustrated volumes, Campbell shows how our ancestors lived and what they believed, shedding new light on who we are and where we come from. Insightful, illuminating, challenging, the *Historical Atlas of World Mythology* is a vibrant introduction to the past—and to the mind of one of this century's greatest thinkers. 99 4-color maps; 1,152 photographs and drawings.



Heritage of Music

for **$29.95** (Pub. price $195)

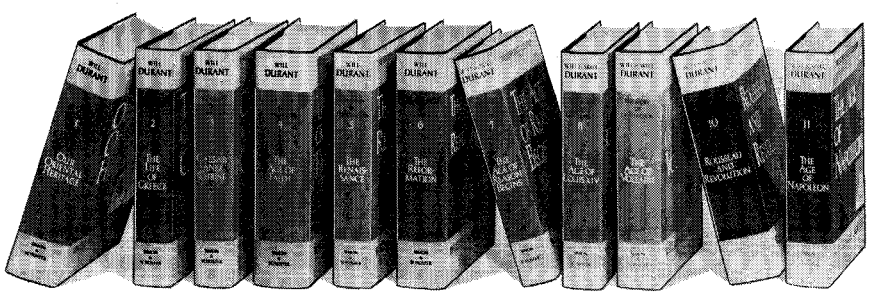
This magnificent four-volume set—unmatched in the authority of its writing and the beauty of its 2100 illustrations—presents an encyclopedic history of music from the Middle Ages to the present. For music lovers, it's like having the liner notes of your dreams.



The World of Peter Rabbit™

for **$29.95** (Pub. prices total $110)

Here are all 23 volumes of Beatrix Potter's original editions. Every story is here, from *The Tale of Peter Rabbit* to *The Tale of Little Pig Robinson* as well as all of Potter's original color and black-and-white drawings and her introductions that explain the origin of each tale. Special custom-designed slipcase.



The Story of Civilization by Will and Ariel Durant

for **$39.95** (Pub. prices total $335.45)

For almost half a century Will and Ariel Durant traced the continuity of world history—the religions and philosophies, the political and economic tides, the arts and sciences, the customs and conquests—to show the foundations of society today. A Book-of-the-Month Club exclusive for almost 50 years, the Durants' illustrated masterwork is history come alive.

Facts About Membership. As a member you will receive the *Book-of-the-Month Club News*® 15 times a year (about every 3½ weeks). Every issue reviews a Selection and more than 150 other books, which are carefully chosen by our editors. If you want the Selection, do nothing. It will be shipped to you automatically. If you want one or more other books—or no book at all—indicate your decision on the Reply Form and return it by the specified date. *Return Privilege:* If the *News* is delayed and you receive the Selection without having had 10 days to notify us, you may return it for credit. *Cancellations:* Membership may be discontinued, either by you or by the Club, at any time after you have bought 4 additional books. Join today. With savings and choices like these, Book-of-the-Month Club is where book lovers belong.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB®

Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., P.O. Box 8803, Camp Hill, PA 17011-8803 **A123-8-2**

Check one box only.

- ☐ 913. The Story of Civ. $39.95
- ☐ 929. A. Trollope Masterworks $34.95
- ☐ 921. Heritage of Music $29.95
- ☐ 922. World of Peter Rabbit $29.95
- ☐ 934. Hist. Atlas of Mythology $29.95

Please enroll me as a member of Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the item I have checked at left, billing me for the appropriate amount, plus shipping and handling charges. I agree to buy four more books during the next two years. A shipping and handling charge is added to each shipment.

Name_____ **1-64**
(Please print clearly)

Address_____ Apt._____

City_____

State_____ Zip_____

Prices shown are U.S. prices. Outside the U.S. prices are generally higher.
All orders subject to approval. © 1991 BOMC.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

workers would lose out on the tax credits, the redistributional impact of Mr. Butler's plan would be minimal. The big change is in the incentives: by getting individuals to pay medical bills themselves, we might just end the insane overuse that has brought the system to its knees.

■ California Governor Pete Wilson has succeeded in hoisting the state's sales tax to (gulp!) 8¼ per cent, and stretching it to apply to more items, such as snacks. (A state agency will rule on whether, say, jelly doughnuts are "snacks" or "foods.") The pro-abortion, pro-gay-rights Wilson had to put the muscle on conservative Republicans to get the tax increase, even threatening not to lift a finger to help them in their looming reapportionment battles. Incredibly, he aspires to the Republican presidential nomination in 1996. His chief asset is a friendly liberal press, which is full of the usual ooze of praise for the proper sort of Republican: Wilson is "willing to make tough decisions" (raise taxes), has "grown" (moved leftward), "surprised friend and foe alike" (double-crossed his friends). Wilson himself got a surprise from his Democratic friends, though, when they reneged on their promise to cut spending in return for the tax cuts. Never take an IOU on the thirty pieces of silver, Pete.

■ Government whizzes have determined that it is dangerous to eat turkey—if you happen to eat 7,600 pounds of it.

■ New York City is running quite a foreign-policy shop these days. The city decided to keep sanctions against South Africa, even as a city official—with the wonderfully apposite name of Hack—sent out invitations to an ANC fundraiser on city stationery. Mayor Dinkins is planning a four-day confab with Nelson Mandela in Johannesburg this September (after a quick visit with the Pope). While City Hall rules the world, however, it may lose the power to rule the city. Mario Cuomo is thinking of putting its shaky finances under the control of an independent board, which is what happened the last time New Yorkers spent themselves into a hole 16 years ago. If that happens, Mayor Dinkins will be reduced to marching with gay Irishmen (if any) in the Dublin St. Patrick's Day parade.

■ The Sobol report on "multicultural" education, though considerably toned down from its first draft, still aims at purging "Eurocentric" content from the New York State public schools and celebrating the contributions of everyone else from the Sioux to Easter Islanders. But it is meeting resistance in some unexpected places. Multiculturalism, Governor Cuomo said, "should not be pushed to such an extreme that the casualty is common sense." Thank goodness Christopher Columbus was Italian.

■ An appeals court has reversed the conviction of yet another "insider trader" once counted among Rudolph Giuliani's big catches from the Decade of Greed—the fifth to date. The summary tone in which the court rejected Mr. Giuliani's evidence against John A. Mulheren Jr.—"no rational trier of fact could have found the elements of the crimes charged here beyond a reasonable doubt"—suggests that Mr. Giuliani's prosecutors were themselves guilty of another sort of greed: for the easy applause of liberal editorialists, who in turn were greedy for evidence, *any* evidence, to legitimize their resentments against the ruthless capitalists who put Ronald Reagan in office. But those idealistic editorialists supposedly sought to uphold, among other lofty aims, the principle of "a fair trial for all," which they and Mr. Giuliani neglected in his rush to jail the greedy.

■ Israelis are correct to scrutinize carefully what Jim Baker has brought them. What assurances has the U.S. given the Syrians? Is there really an Arab commitment to face-to-face negotiation, or are the Arabs still wedded to an international conference as a way to evade it? The time may be fast approaching, however, when Israel will have to ask itself some tough questions. If the Arabs—chastened by the Soviet collapse and U.S. strength—are finally ready to talk, Israel will have to think hard about its terms for peace. Stonewalling will invite massive pressures and erode support in the United States. A cleverer strategy would be to give the U.S. something to work with—some elements of compromise—so that we can shield Israel from the more excessive pressures. These choices may cause the breakup of the present Israeli government, but it may not be a bad issue to fight an election over. *NR* will examine the questions further in a symposium next issue.

■ April Glaspie, our ex-ambassador to Iraq, has run into fire because her own cables to Washington re-

Widows and Orphans, Take Notice

As tut-tuts and a soothing word
Are (this time from insurers) heard,
While Moody's and those others who
Purport to tell us how they do,
Rate many with the Zeppelin;
The sound of policies cashed in
Is echoing through Congress, where
They're standing in the need of prayer.

W. H. VON DREELE

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

porting on her pre-invasion conversation with Saddam Hussein do not support her testimony that she was firm in warning him against military action. The truth of this matter may never be known—but it is also irrelevant. A conciliatory line toward Iraq was our official policy, laid down by her superiors. And even if she had read him the most ferocious ultimatum, he wouldn't have believed her. The U.S. had a profound credibility problem, going back to our humiliating performances in Lebanon and, further back, Vietnam, to which Saddam often referred. He simply doubted our will. After the American victory in the Gulf, this mistake is not likely to be repeated—unless *we* repeat past mistakes by accepting Saddam's nuclear assurances and refraining from military action.

■ Shocked, shocked, etc. No one ever thought liberty and justice for all was going to be easy to achieve in South Africa, and the prospects have been damaged by revelations that the government had given money to Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha movement. The ANC had been losing face of late; now it can act the injured party and revel in the lashings of indignation on editorial pages at home and around the world. But the government's ineptitude (Afrikaners are as bad as American Republicans when it comes to secret operations) should not obscure the fact that the ANC has all along been trying to steal a march: talking of democracy, but all the while presenting itself as the sole legitimate representative of South African blacks. Since everyone—from South Africans of all colors, to other African countries that depend on South Africa's economy, to the Western world for strategic reasons—would lose out if the ANC's anti-free-market nostrums were adopted, let us hope De Klerk and Buthelezi weather the storm.

■ A new biography of Lyndon Johnson advances the audacious thesis that LBJ—get this—*wasn't all bad.* UCLA history professor Robert Dallek's *Lone Star Rising: Lyndon Johnson and His Times, 1908–1960* explicitly aims to redeem the monster from the efforts of that other biographer, Robert Caro, on the grounds that Johnson, for all his crookedness and cruelty, had "vision." Which is to say, he pushed through the sort of statist "civil rights" and welfare measures liberals approve of. Well, we already *knew* that; the defense is circular for liberals, but self-defeating if addressed to conservatives. Needless to say, liberal reviewers are hailing Dallek's book. Given the recent revelations about such liberal heroes as the Kennedys, we understand; and we are glad to note for the record that nobody has yet linked LBJ to the death of Marilyn Monroe.

■ Meanwhile, Harry Reems, of *Deep Throat* fame, has turned up in a small town in Utah where he serves as a trustee to the local Methodist church. After those glory days as a porn star and celebrated ACLU litigant, Mr. Reems reports, his path took a series of bad turns, until in 1985 he found himself panhandling for beer money in Malibu and residing behind a supermarket trash bin. He was too proud to call on the kindness of his old ACLU friends, who would doubtless have obliged by defending his right to pursue that lifestyle. Instead, he found a job, married, and joined a church. The angels will be whooping it up in Heaven tonight (see Luke 15:7).

■ But Warren Beatty has gotten another starlet pregnant, only this time he's happy about it. The reclusive 54-year-old stud announced that he and Annette Bening are expecting and, perhaps inspired by his pal Jack Nicholson, he plans to keep this one. The baby, anyway.

■ Days after appearing nude and immensely gravid on the cover of *Vanity Fair*, Demi Moore gave birth to a healthy baby girl. No, Warren Beatty is not the father; husband Bruce Willis is. But having done everything else, Hollywood seems to be evolving a strange new set of birth rites.

■ Former Soviet media mouthpiece Vladimir Posner has signed a deal to co-host a weekly TV talk show with Phil Donahue. Just how far left does Posner mean to go, anyway?

Funeral in Moscow

GEORGE BUSH is said to be delighted that he can now go to Moscow for something other than a funeral. Yet, if truth be told, he will be there for the ongoing funeral of Communism itself, and for the prolonged political deathwatch for his friend Mikhail Gorbachev.

The London G7 session with Gorbachev showed the Western world getting it about right: most Western leaders had no interest in wasting their taxpayers' money on a Soviet economy still stumbling on the road to a true market. President Bush reportedly stood firm against lifting the ceiling on loans to Moscow from the new European bank. Concessions *were* made to the Soviets in London—in the form of technical assistance, association with the World Bank and IMF, etc.—but they provide no automatic windfall and might even contribute to real marketization. It was a far cry from the "Grand Bargain."

The Bush Administration is being pulled willy-nilly toward a sounder Soviet policy. Its handling of Boris Yeltsin's recent visit was admirable; it gave the Russian president near head-of-state status and opened the door to direct economic benefits for Rus-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sia and the other genuinely reform-minded republics. Buoyed by the success of the visit, Yeltsin then returned to Moscow to do more of the Lord's work—ordering a ban on Communist Party cells in the workplace and government institutions, no less.

It is reasonable for the Administration to do business with the Soviet central government on matters of mutual interest so long as the central government can deliver on its commitments, and so long as our objectives are served. But caution is in order. Arms-control agreements with a regime whose rebellious military nearly scuttled two negotiations warrant serious scrutiny by the Senate. Gorbachev's Union Treaty with nine key Republics (including Russia) represented a significant handing of control over economic resources to the Republics, but it has already been overtaken by events. The central government's authority continues to erode. Nor can President Bush play along with Gorbachev's attempt to limit Most Favored Nation trade benefits to those nine Republics that joined him in the Union Treaty; the Baltic Republics and the other holdouts, with democratically elected governments, must not be excluded.

Soon enough, the Administration will see that Gorbachev's central government is the obstacle to reform, not the vehicle of it. The Republics are where the reform is—and the legitimacy. The best thing Gorbachev can do now for the cause of economic and political reform in the Soviet Union is to get out of the way. Then he'll deserve his eulogy.

Time to Stop START?

THE CONCLUSION of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty had all the theater we have come to associate with such events—prolonged deadlock leading to feverish last-minute haggling and concessions, an announcement by beaming presidents, and a general sense of elation at the diminution of the risks of nuclear war. Those who question the concessions made (for example, allowing the Soviets to keep half of their super-heavy SS-18 missiles, which can heave ten nuclear warheads in a single shot), or who wonder about our ability to verify the treaty (can we track Soviet mobile missiles when we could not find Iraqi Scuds?), will be dismissed as primitives unwilling to discard the comforting certainties of the cold war.

It is in fact START which is a relic of the cold war. For decades now American politicians, bureaucrats, and policy kibitzers have greatly exaggerated both the benefits of arms control and the dire consequences of failing to ratify increasingly complicated and elaborate agreements. START will not make the world safer; it will leave the Soviets eight thousand long-range weapons, and will not have the slightest effect on who will control those devices in the event of the violent breakup of the USSR. Moreover, START continues to drape the Soviet Union in a mantle of superpower status, when the country would be better off without it.

Nor is the final deal all that appetizing. True, the Soviets have to jettison more nuclear warheads than we do. But they will keep over 1,500 warheads on their SS-18s, and will be allowed nearly to double the number of warheads they have on mobile missiles (currently 660 for them, none for us). We received in return no concession on a deployment of strategic defenses, which would have been desirable on several grounds. To be sure, none of these clauses is, in and of itself, a catastrophe, nor is the final deal so bad that it should be rejected out of hand. But it is neither so important nor so welcome a development as the Administration suggests. And insofar as it perpetuates an arms-control obsession, it gets in the way of more creative statecraft.

An Anchor to Windward

Ambassador Strauss, though his bosses
Love catching what Gorbachev tosses,
    Prefers planting sprouts,
    Ignoring the krauts—
Who'll bleat when their loans become losses.

W. H. VON DREELE

New Best Friend

GEORGE BUSH'S handling of the Summit—denying Gorbachev status as a licensed beggar, resisting the alarums over global warming—was welcome. Considering his recent behavior, it was also unsurprising. That may be the most surprising thing about it.

The winter of conservative discontent with Bush came last summer. The Clean Air Act had triumphed. The budget deal had been brokered and the tax pledge broken. Things began to turn around when Mr. Bush showed unexpected mettle in the Kuwait crisis. Then the Administration saw the political (and, one trusts, the moral) advantage in assailing the quota mentality underlying the Civil Rights Bill. The Democrats responded with enraged accusations of cynicism, opportunism, racism, you name it. But Bush had the sense of the country, and of the Constitution, right. His only failing has been the tactical timidity of offering a bill of his own which shares many of the Democratic bill's flaws.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

He followed up with the Clarence Thomas nomination. Together with the attack on quotas, the nomination of a black opponent of affirmative action suggests a creative conservative approach to civil rights. And while the civil-rights drama was playing upstage, Mr. Bush remained quietly steadfast on abortion. Now he has turned in a successful summit.

George Bush is said to be a moderate pragmatist. The trouble with pragmatism, as that word is normally used in politics, is that it pays attention to the short-term popularity of policies rather than to their consequences, which determine their popularity in the end. But Mr. Bush may be pragmatic in a truer sense, namely, when past policies did not turn out as he expected, he learned from the experience. And if he sometimes seems a slow learner, he is also a tenacious one: an honorable ally and, when his blood is up, a tough opponent.

RIGHT DATA

A Decade of Debt

THE doomsayers are sure that the high levels of debt accumulated during the 1980s will limit economic recovery in the Nineties. There were excesses, of course, but today debtors appear to be mending their ways—all but the Federal Government.

GOVERNMENT V. PRIVATE DEBT
(Year end, $ Billions)

	Government Debt		Private-Sector Debt	Total Debt
	Federal	*State/Local*		
1980	743	287	2868	3898
1989	2,269	634	6,902	9,805
1990	2,568	649	7,342	10,560
Average Annual Percentage Change				
1980-89	13.2	9.2	10.2	10.8
1990	13.2	2.3	6.4	7.7
As Percentage of GNP				
1980	27.2	10.5	105.5	142.7
1990	47.0	11.8	134.3	193.2

From 1980 to 1989 non-financial debt more than doubled, to $9.8 trillion. Persistent deficits pushed federal debt up at a 13.2 per cent average annual rate during this time, faster than the overall debt rise. And in 1990, while the recession and the credit crunch forced other governments and the private sector to ease up on credit demands, federal debt rose at the same breakneck pace as in the Eighties.

More recent data show an even greater divergence between federal and private-sector debt trends. From May 1990 through May 1991, commercial bank loans rose only 3.6 per cent, the slowest pace since August 1975. Business debt outstanding actually fell in the last three months of 1990. Meanwhile, the 1991 deficit is expected to reach $318 billion, so that federal debt will grow at a faster rate this year than it did during the Eighties.

Of course, the economy also grew in the Eighties. But the ratio of debt to GNP, after holding remarkably steady at 140 per cent (debt 1.4 times as large as GNP) during the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, shot up to 190 per cent during the 1980s. Federal debt, which had declined relative to GNP from 1945 to 1980, rose from 27 per cent of GNP in 1980 to 47 per cent in 1990.

Those who believe a tax increase will be needed to reverse this trend err on two counts. First, much debt is used to finance roads, bridges, defense installations, schools, and other capital projects that will increase future GNP and thus pay for themselves in higher tax revenues. A recent study of government balance sheets by economist Robert Eisner found that the value of assets owned by the Federal Government was only slightly less than that of outstanding federal debt. When state and local government assets are included (much of which the Federal Government helped finance), total government assets exceed government debt by well over $1 trillion. Unfortunately, Eisner also found that the "net worth" of government, i.e., the amount by which public assets exceed public debt, has been shrinking since 1983, as federal debt is increasingly used to finance items other than tangible, productive assets.

More importantly, federal taxes already consume 19.4 per cent of GNP, higher than the 19.2 per cent average tax burden of the Carter years, and sharply higher than the 18.1 per cent Reagan level of 1983 and 1984. Budget "summits" were convened in 1982, 1984, 1987, 1989, and 1990, to deal with the deficit. Taxes were raised each time, and in every case the deficit rose the next year as new spending outstripped the new revenues.

Expenditure control, perhaps aided by a balanced-budget amendment or the requirement that new taxes be approved by a 60 per cent supermajority of Congress, seems the only way out.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Much remains to be learned. Spending is running out of control; defense spending is being cut arbitrarily; the President still lacks a feel for ideological politics, in which you may sometimes gain supporters in the country by losing votes in Congress. Conservatives, however, owe George Bush their plaudits for his behavior this year—notwithstanding our raspberries past and, all too probably, to come.

Gatesgate (Cont'd)

JUDGE WALSH, the doggedly dedicated Independent Counsel, seemed to be running out of malefactors to pursue when, just in time, a mid-level CIA official, Alan Fiers, copped a plea. This was widely hailed as a triumph for Walsh, a breakthrough toward either hooking bigger fish or unmasking a significant government-wide cover-up.

On the contrary, it demonstrates yet again the growing irrelevance and destructiveness of the Walsh operation, reduced to chasing more and more peripheral figures for more and more derivative offenses. No one is going to jail, it seems, for diverting arms-sale proceeds to the Contras; people *are* being had up for building security fences or for not volunteering information to congressional inquiries. Offenses maybe, but not central to the main "scandal."

The collapse of Walsh's main case came many months (and many millions of taxpayer dollars) ago. The main conspiracy charges fell away either because they were densely interwoven with classified material on legitimate intelligence matters having to do with hostages and counter-terrorism as well as Central America, or because Colonel North et al. successfully employed legal loopholes rather than criminal methods. This demonstrated the unwisdom of criminalizing issues so laden with policy. It also confirmed the error of the Reagan White House in inviting the law-enforcement machinery to grind away at what was left of presidential prerogative, instead of fighting the issue head-on right away as a policy struggle between the President and Congress.

Recent developments also represent a tragedy for the CIA. Good intelligence officers—Fiers and his colleagues now being investigated—were dragged into this mess by the NSC staff. It is highly likely they thought the whole Iran–Contra scheme crazy. If they were involved, it was probably minimally, indirectly, and involuntarily. Playing by the old rules, as good soldiers, they stonewalled congressional inquiries. Yet they were covering for deeds or misdeeds that were not their own.

Finally, the mud also splashes Bob Gates, who had even less to do with it. His testimony that his wily boss, Bill Casey, cut him out of the loop, and that his other colleagues gave him only the sketchiest of indications something was going on, is entirely believable. As *NR* has noted before, the CIA needs the kind of strong leadership that a man of Gates's illusion-free strategic world view would bring. The Independent Counsel is not only wasting the taxpayers' money on his own perpetual-motion machine; he is now obstructing the business of the national government. President Bush should issue a general pardon and close down Walsh's entire inquisition.

Who Killed the Unions?

BY VOTING to prohibit employers from hiring permanent replacements for striking workers, the House has fallen for one of the labor movement's most enduring myths. Organized labor has been shrinking for decades as an economic force in this country. Only 16.4 per cent of the U.S. labor force is unionized today, versus 20.1 per cent in 1983 and 33.2 per cent at its postwar peak, in 1955. In 1974, which was not a vintage year for strikes, there were 424 of them; in 1988 there were forty.

For years labor leaders insisted that this trend was unique to the U.S. and that union membership was rising in Canada and Western Europe. Some economists agreed. The National Bureau of Economic Research's Richard Freeman put it this way: "The rapidly de-unionizing U.S. is the prima facie case of what aggressive management can do to unionism. In the 1970s and 1980s U.S. management turned against unions and collective bargaining to a degree not seen anywhere else in the world."

Interesting, but utter nonsense, according to Rutgers economist Leo Troy. In a study published last year Professor Troy finds Mr. Freeman and his "unique" school made serious errors in their analysis. First, they assumed that all Western nations' labor forces underwent identical, simultaneous transformations from heavily unionized manufacturing to service employment. Not only did the U.S. make the switch considerably earlier (more than half the U.S. labor force was employed in services by 1955; France did not reach that point until 1981), but government services, most of which are unionized, were far more important to service growth abroad than in the United States. Secondly, the alleged disparity in unionization trends is found by comparing apples to oranges: declining private-sector unionism in the U.S. is compared to increases in total unionism (private and public) abroad. Troy shows a universal decline in the share of *private-sector* workers enrolled in unions.

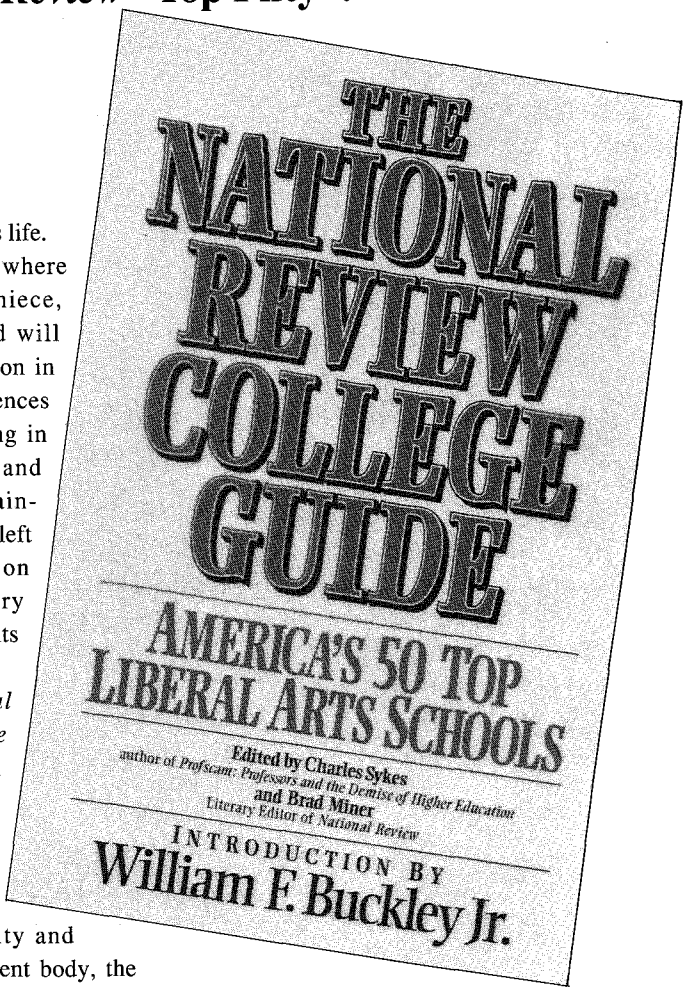
Neither Ronald Reagan nor the right to hire replacements killed organized labor. Labor's woes are primarily self-inflicted: huge wage settlements in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Your guide to the right schools.

New from NR! Presenting the *National Review* "Top Fifty"!

The National Review College Guide


THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE
AMERICA'S 50 TOP LIBERAL ARTS SCHOOLS
Edited by Charles Sykes
author of Profscam: Professors and the Demise of Higher Education
and Brad Miner
Literary Editor of National Review
INTRODUCTION BY
William F. Buckley Jr.

We'll get the bad part over with fast. Things are pretty bad on some campuses. There are no more course-distribution requirements — anything goes.

There is no core curriculum — because there is no core of common values on which to base one. There is cynicism in the classroom about the Western tradition and American values. And if all this isn't bad enough, there are curbs on free expression — it's better not to voice your views on certain subjects unless your opinions are "politically correct." You might flunk. You could become an outcast...or even be expelled.

Now the good news! NR has found fifty schools where things aren't like that at all — fifty colleges we can recommend with enthusiasm. Not all the colleges are conservative, but all are traditional in the ways which count — educational philosophy, purpose, and the quality of campus life.

These are colleges where your son, daughter, niece, nephew, or grandchild will receive a broad education in the humanities and sciences — not a narrow training in one particular field...and certainly not a brain-washing by far-out, far-left professors intent on destroying the very Western tradition parents are paying them to teach.

In the *National Review College Guide* we describe in detail what makes each of these recommended colleges special — including the core curriculum, the faculty and administration, the student body, the location, and, in many instances, foreign study programs. Each of these institutions is unique — with its own purpose and sense of identity.

You can't rely on the usual college guides to help you identify these schools. Nor can you count on most "guidance" experts. But you can count on *The National Review College Guide*. We've researched each college and stand behind every recommendation!

The National Review College Guide features a special introduction by William F. Buckley Jr. on how to choose a college and the purpose of higher education.

5 Things That Make A College Great *(in our book).*

1. *Curricular common sense.* We look for a solid core curriculum based on the Western tradition and American values and virtues.
2. *Dedicated teaching.* This implies small classes taught by experienced faculty. If there are no graduate teaching assistants, it's a plus.
3. *The administration has a sense of purpose*—doesn't cave in to every capricious faculty or student demand or change direction with every new trend.
4. *Congenial quality of campus life* — offering a wholesome social and intellectual environment, free of intense political pressures.
5. *Student life is supervised.* Administrators care about what goes on in the dorms as well as in the classroom, because they *care* about students. Faculty advisors are accessible to help guide students.

☐ **YES! Please send me *The National Review College Guide*...at no risk!**

I want _____ copies at $14.95 each plus $2.00 shipping and handling (no extra charge for shipping additional copies). If not completely satisfied, I have 30 days to return the book for a full refund of my purchase price.

☐ Check enclosed. Charge my: ☐ Visa ☐ MasterCard

Account #: Exp. Date:

Signature:

Name (please print)

Address

City

State Zip

Mail To: National Review College Guide 81291
150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016

Give Extra Copies! The Guide make a great gift for your local library or school. Help us spread the good word about these excellent colleges!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

major industries have driven up labor costs and made many American products uncompetitive compared to those of lower-wage countries like Japan and South Korea. Even Canada, where government intervenes actively on behalf of private-sector unions, has experienced a surge in non-union employment. Competitive markets "repeal" the legal protection bestowed by government. If the President does not veto the replacement-workers bill, striking workers will be replaced not by other workers in their own shops, but by other companies, some of them in other countries.

Carol Iannone: Act II

AT THE URGING of Senator Kennedy, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee, on a nearly party-line 9 to 8 vote, has rejected the nomination of Professor Carol Iannone to the National Council of the Endowment for the Humanities. It was heavily lobbied by the academic Left to block Miss Iannone on the grounds that she is insufficiently distinguished and had published mainly in non-academic magazines like *Commentary* (and, we might add, *NR*). Let us deconstruct this criticism. Miss Iannone, an NYU professor, is one of the best critics writing today. Her academic sin is that she writes the readable criticism of a less politicized and twisted age. As Senator Moynihan said in Congress: "to say of a professor of literature that his or her principal work has appeared in *Commentary* is—well—to say that this is a critic of the first rank. In the tradition, say, of Lionel Trilling."

Such considerations did not, of course, disturb the committee majority, led by Chairman Kennedy. They constituted themselves the enforcers of political correctness and blocked the nomination by one vote.

Carol Iannone's rejection is symbolically too important for the Administration to let the matter die. NEH Chairman Lynne Cheney and the White House should hammer home the message that the committee rejected a qualified and principled nominee in order to appease the academic crank Left.

It should then send the Senate a nominee who is just as independent and even more objectionable to the academic Left. Given her rejection, after a furious *Kulturkampf*, perhaps the best such nominee would be Miss Iannone herself. Her renomination, accompanied by a presidential speech blasting political correctness, would be an ideal initiation in that ideological politics we recommended to the President above ["New Best Friend"]. And because such politics transcends the merely partisan, the White House can call on Democratic allies like Senator Moynihan. It would be a shrewd gesture if Mr. Bush were to invite the senator to attend a public renomination; and a chivalrous gesture, characteristic of Senator Moynihan, if he were to accept.

Max Thurn, R I P

DR. MAXIMILIAN Graf von Thurn-Valsassina of Vienna is dead at 81 years. Max served as Secretary of the Mont Pelerin Society for many years before being elected its Honorary Vice President. A true cosmopolitan, he studied in Vienna and at Oxford, lived in Argentina and in Washington. His commitment to the market system was the paramount concern of his public life, and he gave unstinting help to Heritage, Cato, and many other free-market institutes around the world.

Whether at Mont Pelerin meetings or in private conversation, Max was a good listener, always willing to offer a sage comment and to share his experiences. He seemed quietly amused by the often passionate debates that raged around him. And some of us knew we would never see as far as Max. It wasn't just because his imposing 6-foot-5-inch frame towered over the rest of us, but because his cosmopolitan outlook and his long view of history made him a wise counselor, a good friend, and a steadfast ally.

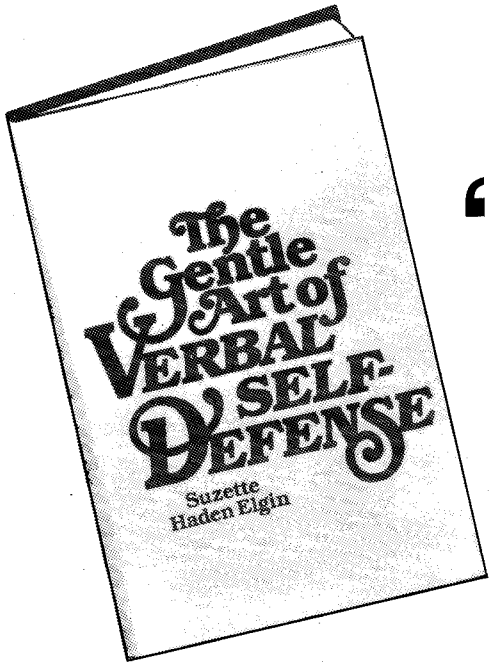
Before I flew to Vienna last week, I instinctively pulled together the last four issues of NATIONAL REVIEW to reread on the way over, almost forgetting that the purpose of my trip was to attend his memorial service. For to meet with Max, whether in Taipei or in Prague, was to take a quiz on the latest *NR*: "What did you think of Buckley's article on Quayle?" Or, "Is Sobran really reflecting the views of American conservatism?" He once told me that *NR* was his "lifeline to the American conservative movement." Max was in turn our lifeline to a civilized European mentality that, however detached or ironic, was nonetheless firmly committed to the cause of liberty. None of us who knew and worked with Max Thurn will ever forget him, and we extend our condolences to his widow. —EDWIN FEULNER

NOTES & ASIDES

■ Wm—

In "Notes & Asides" [July 29] I see that "hoist with his own petard" causes Mr. Matous some difficulty, as "heist" does you. The two words are etymologically identical, being the passive participle of *hoise* to lift (OD *hyssen*, Fr. *hausser*, LL *altiare*, L. *altus*). *Heise* and *heist* were dialectic and Scots variants, and the pronunciation *heist* is identified as archaic although Mencken reports it in standard use in the coal mines of southern Illinois and in "common

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



Handle 'Put-Downs' With Style

Only $6.95

(Pub. at $12.95)

Dealing with others—socially, at the office or within the family—usually can come down to having to cope with put-downs, insinuations and various forms of reproaches. Often, many of us feel that any conversation is actually a duel which we usually lose.

As with the art of dueling, there are ways of learning the 'parry' and 'thrust' which permit you to be on target and unruffled. This stylish, productive way of dealing with verbal attacks is simply and expertly described in *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense.*

The Right Words Always Work

A few of the right words is all you need to subdue verbal hostility. This book teaches you the simple eloquence that works. It could take the form of candor, humor, flattery, agreement or even distraction. The result is the same: success.

Anger Loses. Style Wins.

The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense will teach you how to avoid the self-defeating mode of being sullen, peevish, defensive or downright sore. You'll quickly learn how not to become negatively emotional. And that's a major step in dealing with arguments and other verbal assaults.

All Attacks Repelled

Everyday life presents us with many forms of verbal attacks. This book explains and instructs how to understand and deal with the variety of attacks such as:

- **The 8 Types of Verbal Attacks** (and how to fight them)
- **The 4 Principles of Verbal Self-Defense** (from knowing you are under attack to following through with your counter- attack)
- **The 5 Personalities & How They Communicate** (Is your boss a "Leveller?" Is your mother a "blamer?" Is your husband a "distracter?")
- **Dialogues that Show Effective & Ineffective Defense Strategies**
- **Instructions on Voice Control & Body Language**

These features will teach you how to deal with all types of people, including bullying bosses, backbiting coworkers, guilt-producing mothers, nagging wives, condescending husbands, and many others. And you'll discover how to counter all the varieties of verbal abuse—from subtle put-downs to out-and-out attacks.

Practically a Ph.D. in Communication

Learning the fundamental art of coping with loaded situations or unprovoked hostility is the bottom line in having a pleasant and more productive life. *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* can be your crash course, in depth, on improving the quality of dealing with others in social, business and familial situations. You'll avoid spending years of wasteful trial and error. Fights and misunderstandings will be side-stepped. The result: You're in control!

The easiest, wisest and stylish way to handle 'put-downs' starts with ordering *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense.* Just mail the completed coupon.

Our Unconditional Guarantee

You must be completely satisfied with every item you order from Barnes & Noble by mail, or you may return it to us, for a full refund.

About the Author

Psycholinguist Suzette Haden Elgin has presented her innovative self-defense principles in a variety of formats. She has given workshops and seminars all over the U.S., including verbal self-defense sessions for doctors, lawyers, and other professionals. Dr. Elgin has also created a self-defense tape and a training manual for people who teach her self-defense techniques.

Barnes & Noble
Booksellers Since 1873

Dept. V386 126 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10011

Please rush me_____copies of *The Gentle Art of Verbal Self-Defense* (#1295690) at the special price of $6.95 each. With this purchase get a FREE Barnes & Noble Catalog. Please add $1.00 for postage and handling per book, and the appropriate sales tax for CA, CT, MA, MI, MN, NJ, NY & PA.

Name_____

Address_____

_____Apt#_____

City _____

State_____Zip_____

Payment Method (check one):

❑ Check ❑ MasterCard Expiration Date

❑ Visa ❑ AmExpress Month/Year☐☐☐☐

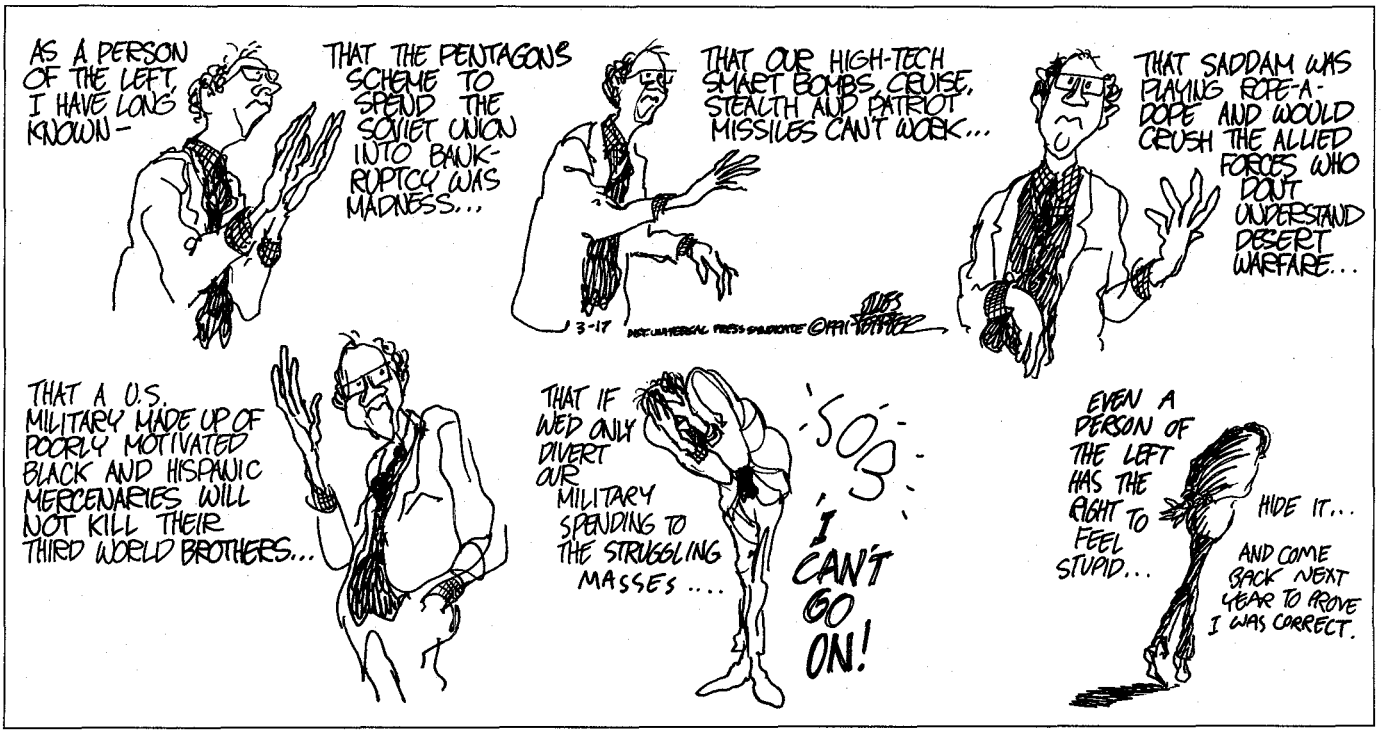
Credit Card Number

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐

Signature_____

Without purchase, send $1.00 with coupon for a Barnes & Noble Catalog.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED


AS A PERSON OF THE LEFT, I HAVE LONG KNOWN -
THAT THE PENTAGON'S SCHEME TO SPEND THE SOVIET UNION INTO BANKRUPTCY WAS MADNESS...
THAT OUR HIGH-TECH SMART BOMBS, CRUISE, STEALTH AND PATRIOT MISSILES CAN'T WORK...
THAT SADDAM WAS PLAYING ROPE-A-DOPE AND WOULD CRUSH THE ALLIED FORCES WHO DON'T UNDERSTAND DESERT WARFARE...
3-17
THAT A U.S. MILITARY MADE UP OF POORLY MOTIVATED BLACK AND HISPANIC MERCENARIES WILL NOT KILL THEIR THIRD WORLD BROTHERS...
THAT IF WE'D ONLY DIVERT OUR MILITARY SPENDING TO THE STRUGGLING MASSES ....
SOS
I CAN'T GO ON!
EVEN A PERSON OF THE LEFT HAS THE RIGHT TO FEEL STUPID...
HIDE IT...
AND COME BACK NEXT YEAR TO PROVE I WAS CORRECT.

speech" along with such birds of paradise as *clumb*, *flang*, and *attackted*. Grose (1823) explains how *hoist/heist* became involved in thievery: "to go upon the hoist; to get into windows accidentally left open: this is done by the assistance of a confederate, called the hoist, who leans his head against the wall, making his back a kind of step or ascent." The metaphor of lifting as stealing is very ancient, by the way: *shoplifter* makes use of Gothic *hlifan* to steal (cf. *hlifus* thief), and I agree with Partridge that the ancestry of lift/*hlifan* goes back through L. *clepo/cleptum* to steal, Gk. *klepto* as in maniac. The petard (or petar, as it often occurs in an archaic form in the quote from Hamlet) was a large can of explosives touched off against a wall to make a breach. The smoke of the sulphurous mixture must have been more than half asphyxiating, to judge from petard's ancestry: OF *peter* to break wind, L. *pedo pedere pepidi*. Concerning this derivation I recall that a partner in the brokerage house where I worked in the late 1950s once used the "hoist with his own petar" phrase and, when I quizzed him about it, blushed a deep and desperate red. He must have gone so far as *peter* on looking the word up in his dictionary and not understood that it was French. He said, with many a hum and haw: "Well, strung up by his own . . . his own . . . peter, you see . . . and it must have been awfully painful!" So much for Wall Street. As a sailor you surely know that *hawser* like *hoise* comes from Fr. *hausser* and so on, and not from any rope factory. A kissin' cousin is the lovely *enhance* (LL *inaltiare*), about which—but I have to go weed the corn patch.

Pretty much yrs. as ever,
Wm [F. Rickenbacker]
[Francestown, N.H.]

Ah, Wm, how we miss you—very much. As ever,
Wm

■ Memo to: Bill
From: Priscilla

What's come over Jules Feiffer? This [above] is his second public act of contrition in a couple of years.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

In reference to a recent column, I think that the present world population of 5.3 billion people is too high for our fragile planetary ecosystem to support. If we expect to leave a world for our children worth living in, we must stop adding billions more people.

I feel that uncontrolled population growth is the root cause of civil unrest, unemployment, massive starvation, resource shortages, environmental deterioration, and global warming.

It has taken only from 1975 to 1987 to add our last billion people, and most nations are burdened by environmental problems and resource shortages. At a growth doubling rate of forty years, how can we expect to support 10.6 billion people in 2031?

Sincerely,
Bruce T. Hemphill Jr.
Los Angeles, Calif.

Dear Mr. Hemphill: The problem isn't population, as Singapore and Japan would tell you. And nobody knows what are the limits nature will permit. Malthus never dreamed we could safely go this far, but the parson was wrong. The century's principal troublemakers have been the Russians and the Germans, and overpopulation was not a problem there.
Cordially, **—WFB**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ON THE SCENE

God and Man in Phoenix

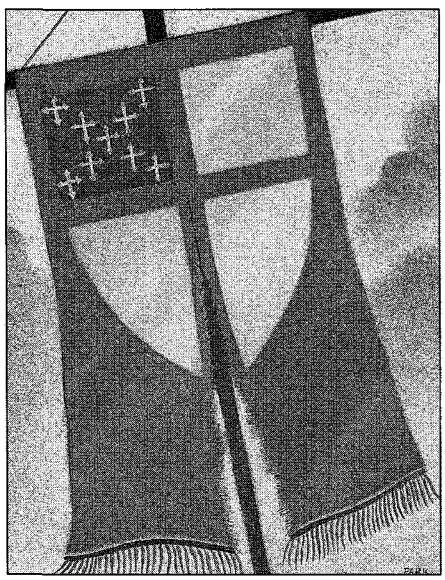
H. N. KELLEY

PHOENIX

THE Episcopal general convention, a ten-day triennial affair, began this year as a masterpiece of damage control carried out by the bishops in multiple closed-door executive sessions. As a consequence, the early days were marked by serenity and extreme politeness, though with an undercurrent of tension. This tension was not lessened by the sanguine press releases of the Episcopal News Service, which reported fully and frequently on everything, stating outright that the one subject on everyone's mind was sexuality. But in the final days, the controlled serenity began to break down. The end brought the very real possibility of there becoming two Episcopal churches, one traditional and one free-wheeling radical, as many participants, both lay and clerical (including bishops), signed a declaration of conscience stating that they could not go along with some of the convention's decisions.

In one of the attempts at damage control, the Presiding Bishop had decreed "a new shape" for this convention. In essence, it aimed at keeping delegates so busy with spiritual matters and with discussions of racism that there would be little time left for disputation. Instead of one spectacular Eucharist which would include everyone, there were four of these carefully choreographed affairs and ten daily services, as well as special Bible contemplation groups and racism studies.

A bizarre request was sent in advance to hotels serving the convention to "remove all amenities, such as



Chang Park

shampoo, conditioner, and other toilet articles except for soap" and to donate the money saved to the Diocese of Arizona to support shelter programs. Our hotel posted the notice, but the dish of "amenities" was larger than ever. The delegates themselves received pre-convention instructions that "peripheral receptions and parties [be] eliminated or toned down" and that the delegates should shun expensive meals and alcohol and eat in the common-meal section in the convention hall. The most incomprehensible request was that exhibitors (booksellers, groups like the Prayer Book Society, and so on) reduce the size of their exhibits, preferably to a single 10×10 booth. This proved impossible and the exhibit hall looked about as it has always done. There were interesting side attractions such as a two-hour American Indian memorial rite, with drums, chants, and audience participation. There were also occasional serenades by members of Integrity, the organization for homosexual Episcopalians.

After a great deal of pre-convention huffing and puffing, and amid rumors of a threat to reveal names of gay clergy who were still in the closet, Integrity continued to keep a high profile during the entire ten days of the convention. Its members had declared they would force a flat yes or no vote on the many items on the agenda relating to their problems, but though they retreated from this position, they and friends from other gay organizations were conspicuous in the lobby, and they made certain they were represented on all committees dealing with sexual issues. Bishop Spong appeared to make the Integrity booth his headquarters, and had a man march through the aisles of the hall (against house rules) bearing a very home-made-looking sign announcing that the bishop would autograph copies of his book in Booth 10. The Integrity people were often visited by their friends from the gay-oriented Metropolitan Community Churches, holding their convention just down the street. They caused a bit of a dust-up among employees in their hotel, and city newspapers reported the bedmakers would wear rubber gloves. However, a medical advisor counseled that gloves would be necessary only if there was blood or "other bodily fluids" on the sheets.

Anti-gay-rights types were not so visible, although there was a tall man in a two-foot-high green hat marching outside the hall (in the 109° heat) with the words on his hat reminding us: "Adam and Eve, not Adam and Steve or Madam and Eve."

While sexuality had all the headlines (the hearing open to the public drew more than three thousand people), it was far from the only item on the legislative agenda. There were several hundred resolutions passed, usually unanimously, on every known human ill. Remembered were the homeless, the American Indians, abused children (and wives), African and Chinese struggles for Democracy. There were scolding resolutions to be sent to President Bush. He was told he must not back off on sanctions against South Africa, that the Gulf War was intolerable, and that he must do something or another about agriculture. Undoubtedly the most ambitious resolution of them all was the directive to the President that he eliminate poverty.

The other critical topic under discussion was "inclusive language"—

Mr. Kelley has written of Episcopal Church matters for NR *and a number of other publications.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

i.e., the proposals to rewrite the Bible and Prayer Book in feminist terms in which God is no longer "our Father" and all of us are generally desexed. There was some bitterness on the subject, but resisters were dealing with a fait accompli: the committee that has been working on this for the last six years has put its work to date into the hands of parishes all over the country, and much of it is already being used, and undoubtedly would have continued to be used however the convention voted. (In the event, the issue was returned to the committee for another three years' "study.")

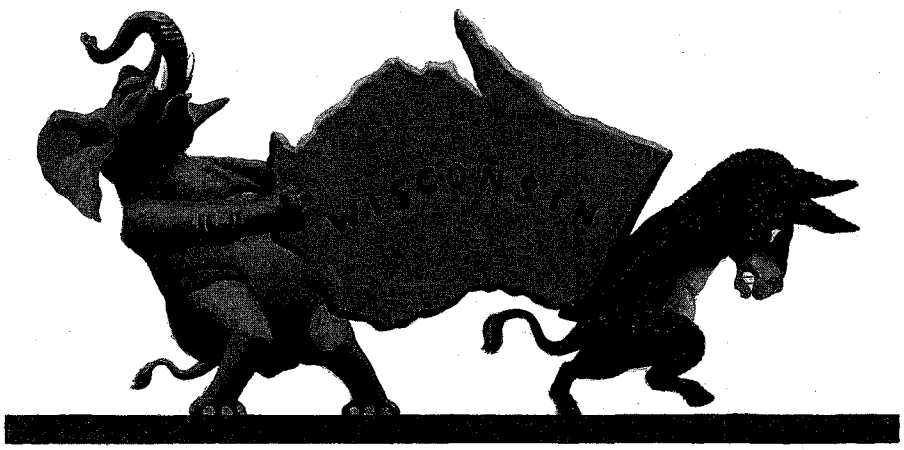
The sexuality controversy, which has been receiving international publicity for many months, was broken down into many facets. At stake, practically speaking, are same-sex marriages and the difference between inclinations and acts, summed up in the word "practicing." There are today many fine priests and bishops who are homosexual, but is it permissible for ordained clerics to engage in homosexual practices? In the endless arguments, the central meaning of the legislation often seemed to get lost. Some of the speakers appeared to feel that sexual pleasure, at will, was a human right, even a human necessity, and that only pain and sorrow would result from frowning on sex as entertainment.

In the final days, hostility began to show as Integrity forces raised a row in the traditionalist Church Army booth, it was claimed that some bishops had received threats, and both houses, bishops and deputies, became packed beyond capacity. After hours of passing the sex resolutions back and forth between the two houses for the necessary unified approval, as quibbling amendments accreted, the resolutions ended up so ambiguous that Integrity was able to claim them as victories. An attempt to pass a canon (church law) stating that clergy "must abstain from genital sexual relations outside of holy matrimony" was rejected, and there went morality down the drain. The resolution forbidding ordination of "practicing homosexuals" was defeated, and there went a million or so church members out the door. Reluctance to make some of the hard decisions resulted in delaying tactics, and parish priests were instructed to take careful pulses of their congregations and report back by the 1994 convention. On convention Thursday, however, it appeared certain that the two great pressure groups, the gays and the feminists, had won the day, and the declaration of conscience began to circulate.

Oh yes, reports on budgetary matters caused much unhappiness, as headquarters reported still more painful drops in income. But then, cause and effect were never one of headquarters' strong points. □

Fighting Tommy Thompson

CHARLES SYKES



Chris Miles

MADISON

WHEN George Bush watched the Major League All Star game in Toronto this year, he was joined by such select company as Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Baseball Commissioner Fay Vincent, Joe DiMaggio, Ted Williams—and Wisconsin Governor Tommy G. Thompson. The invitation to the presidential box was a fitting distinction for a man who has become a star in his own right among the nation's governors.

Within days of the game, *City & State*, a national business newspaper for state and local officials, named the Wisconsin Republican as its Most Valuable Public Official for 1991 for his sound fiscal management, his pro-growth economic policies, and his efforts to establish "the terms of the national debate in education reform and welfare reform."

Thompson's rise to prominence is all the more striking when one considers that Michael Dukakis carried Wisconsin in 1988 and that the Democrats control both houses of the state legislature. Nor, at least initially, was Thompson seen as a likely candidate to make much headway against such odds. A veteran legislator from the rural town of Elroy, Thompson was known as Dr. No during his years as minority leader in a state Assembly run almost as a hereditary fiefdom by the Democrats. Even after he was elected governor in 1986, Democrats continued to regard him as something of a fluke, attributing his victory to the unpopularity of the incumbent Democrat he unseated.

Despite the low expectations Tommy Thompson has flourished. Last year he was re-elected by a landslide, even carrying the Democratic stronghold of Milwaukee County with a level of black support virtually unprecedented for a Republican. The state is fiscally healthy, and his popularity remains high as he sticks to a no-tax-increase pledge. Part of the reason for his success can be found in Wisconsin's distinctive tradition; the rest in Thompson's own creativity.

Although Wisconsin has a history of progressive and liberal politics, it also prides itself on being a "laboratory of democracy" and on trying out government programs that actually *work*. The state's path-breaking social legislation of the Progressive Era was a precursor of the New Deal. Now it is Thompson's turn.

Mr. Sykes, the former Editor-in-Chief of Milwaukee Magazine, *is author of* Profscam *and* The Hollow Men, *and co-editor of* The National Review College Guide.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

By his innovative approach to welfare and education issues, Thompson could well do for conservatism what "Fighting" Bob LaFollette did for the welfare state. It seems fair enough revenge.

Thompson's first term saw the enactment of the nation's first urban school-choice program, using state money to provide poor children with vouchers for private schools in the inner city. Using a creative veto strategy—vetoing selected words in a piece of welfare legislation to change its meaning—he also created a welfare program known as Learnfare that ties benefits to school attendance: families whose children skip school risk losing some of their benefits, a prospect that focuses the mind marvelously. Other reforms have contributed to Thompson's success in cutting Wisconsin's AFDC caseload by more than 2 per cent last year at a time when the number of recipients nationally rose by nearly 9 per cent. His second-term proposals go even further.

As a result of decades of Democratic "compassion," a family of three in Wisconsin now receives $517 a month in AFDC benefits—considerably more than the national average of $364, and (more importantly) far more generous than neighboring Illinois's monthly stipend of $288. The results of this largesse are twofold: Wisconsin has become a welfare magnet and is experiencing an epidemic of subsidized illegitimacy. Milwaukee now has the highest black teen pregnancy rate in the country; in 1988, 80 per cent of all black women who gave birth in Wisconsin were unmarried. The state estimates that Wisconsin taxpayers pay out $437 million a year for housing, food, education, and day care for families headed by teenage mothers. But that only begins to tell the story. Roughly 60 per cent of the youths in the state's juvenile-justice system had been born to girls in their teens.

Thompson's response was officially titled "Parental and Family Responsibility," but was quickly dubbed "Bridefare" because of its emphasis on encouraging teen parents to marry and enter the workforce. Instead of cutting benefits to married couples, Thompson's plan would include the father in the AFDC grant if the teens married, and would eliminate the automatic rise of welfare benefits for teenage mothers who have more than one child on welfare. To encourage employment, Thompson's plan would increase the amount families could earn without losing benefits and would require unmarried teenage fathers who were unable to pay child support to participate in a special jobs program.

Thompson is also pushing for expanding the scope of Learnfare. The current program covers only children from 12 to 19; Thompson wants it to apply to children as young as six. He also proposed a two-tiered AFDC system that would limit the welfare benefits of new arrivals to the same benefits provided in their home state for their first six months in Wisconsin.

Having withstood an all-out campaign by the state teachers' union to defeat him in the last election, Thompson has also taken on the education establishment's apparatchiks, with a package emphasizing accountability, empowerment, and creative management. Provisions in his budget included instituting statewide comprehensive examinations that would permit comparisons between schools; breaking up the city of Milwaukee's unwieldy school district into smaller units; offering special grants for effective schools; and permitting schools to contract privately with teachers for specialized programs (thus circumventing the teachers' unions).

But when the Democratic legislature completed work on the state budget in July, it rejected all Thompson's ideas—on education as well as on welfare. In some cases, it was a near thing. Only last-minute arm-twisting by the Democratic leadership succeeded in derailing a backbenchers' revolt that brought Thompson to within a vote or two of victory on some of his welfare reforms. In the end, Thompson won nationwide praise, but little in the way of actual legislation.

Thompson's setbacks illustrate the political dilemmas of conservative reform in the 1990s. Like so many other Republican executives, Thompson is hobbled by the failure of the GOP to translate popular ideas into grassroots electoral success. The GOP has now gone nearly two decades without a majority in either house of the Wisconsin legislature. For their part, the majority Democrats advance few policy initiatives and seem content to nurture their incumbency by serving the usual constituency of special interests. Annoyed by Thompson's national prominence, they have apparently resolved to deny him even modest victories henceforth.

But a more profound source of frustration for Thompson is the shortage of GOP officeholders—or even candidates—who share his zeal. Alan Ehrenhalt's new book, *The United States of Ambition*, uses Wisconsin's legislature to illustrate the difference between the two parties. Wisconsin Republicans, he writes, are "the party of those who, in the final analysis, would rather be doing something else for a living."

"You come here at 8 o'clock on a Monday morning and all the Democratic parking spaces are filled," Michael Ellis, the State Senate's Republican leader, told Ehrenhalt. "This is their career, this is what they do with their lives. It's it. Republicans show up at 9 o'clock on Tuesday when the session starts at 10. They leave at 4 on Thursday. They come and vote on the bills and then leave."

The Senate Democratic Leader, David Helbach, chortles: "The Republicans hate government. . . . So they let us run it for them."

The result is the political handcuffing of the country's potentially most effective Republican governor. Unless he gets help soon, Tommy Thompson's fate may be to see his ideas enacted by other states, while they are rejected at home. Even in defeat, however, Thompson is worth watching. □

Operation: Desert Mop-Up

DONALD KIRK

DHAHRAN

THE GIs lounging in the Hotel California appear to live in a space capsule set in the middle of a forbidding land. Soft ice cream flows from an inviting little tap, while greasy hot dogs glisten in a plastic warmer. Air-conditioning keeps the

Mr. Kirk is a veteran foreign correspondent.

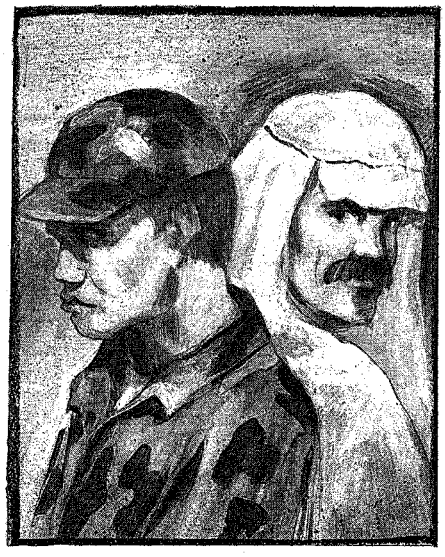
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

temperature inside at around 75 degrees—60 degrees or so below the level of heat that radiates from the nearby airstrip, from which cargo planes are hauling valuable matériel back to bases in the United States. Beyond glass doors, still more GIs relax in the shade by the swimming pool while others keep in trim doing laps in the scorching sun. A number of them, of course, are females, wearing bathing suits that would attract little attention back home, but would cause scandal on an Arab beach, where women on family outings remain swathed from head to foot in the flowing black *abaya*.

The Saudis will not get to see anyone in the pool. High walls insulate it from a rigorously Islamic society where foreign soldiers are viewed as "infidels" and the rules of the *shariah* are zealously enforced by bearded *mutawa* (religious police). The "gift" of the Hotel California—and an even more elaborate hideaway known as the Oasis—was an act of munificence on the part of a Saudi prince who serves as commander of the air base. With the full backing of King Fahd, he conceded the need to provide some form of R&R for foreign troops who might otherwise outrage the *mutawa* by breaking the rules in full public view. (He did not go so far as to countenance the drinking of alcohol, fiercely banned on Saudi soil though often imbibed in foreigners' compounds.)

THIS delicate compromise illustrates the precariousness of the allied position in the Persian Gulf. For U.S. negotiators, the extreme sensitivities of Washington's allies pose almost as much of a problem as does the duplicity of Saddam Hussein, still ferociously clinging to his power base in Baghdad. The overriding question is: Can U.S. negotiators get around Arab religious and cultural barriers so as to maintain the foothold U.S. forces earned by their overwhelming military success in February? The answer, to the dismay of rank-and-file GIs and commanders alike, is far from certain—even though Saddam has played into the allies' hands by refusing to cooperate seriously with United Nations officials investigating his nuclear facilities.

The operative word for most of the talks, in Washington, Riyadh, and other meeting points, is the acronym POMCUS—for Pre-position Matériel Configured to Unit Sets. POMCUS is a familiar term among U.S. commanders in Germany, where the United States has long stockpiled armored vehicles along with arms and ammunition specifically earmarked for U.S.-based units to grab when they go there. U.S. military leaders are anxious to adapt the POMCUS principle to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and possibly one or two other Gulf states so that all that unwieldy gear would be ready and waiting in case of another war—or threat of war. For that matter, they would love to persuade Saudi and Kuwaiti leaders to test the efficacy of POMCUS periodically through maneuvers with coalition forces, as troops in Germany have done for a long time.



Jennifer Lawson

Could there be any more sensible way to ensure that Saddam, after waiting a few years for the world to forget, will not again try to catch his Arab neighbors and their Western friends off guard? How better for ill prepared Saudi and Kuwaiti armies to improve their military skills? And how on earth else can the allies hope to avoid the prolonged, awkward, and incredibly costly process of ferrying in supplies from thousands of miles away?

"One thing we learned from Desert Storm: it's easier to move men than tanks," an American diplomat told me. "We'd like to leave about a division's worth." The trouble is, he acknowledged, requesting the usual anonymity, that "the Saudis would prefer to see a smaller force and no military pre-positioning." The Saudis, he said, keep hitting U.S. negotiators with the argument that "the Americans didn't have pre-positioning beforehand, and it all worked out." Behind the Saudi concern, as the Americans are well aware, is the fear that "not-so-friendly Arab nations"—notably Saddam's friends, Libya and Yemen, and "neutral" Jordan with its fervently pro-Saddam Palestinian majority—will "beat up on them." Then, too, there is always the lingering worry that the *mutawa* will get out of hand—"we are, after all," the diplomat observed with a rueful smile, "the 'enemies of Islam.' "

Politely, by indirection, Saudi officials confirm this analysis. Dr. Shehad Jamjoon, the top government spokesman, cited no less a source than "the press" as having reported, "The troops will be leaving unless there is something to stay for." Since "we are in good shape now," he concluded with seeming reluctance, "if there is no need for them to stay, they should leave."

The Saudis have gotten the same message across to the twenty thousand or so U.S. troops still on the ground with amazing clarity. "The Saudis want us all to leave," said an Army sergeant from Chicago named Nathan Taylor. "You can see it in their attitudes. If there's a big convoy or group they don't exactly push you—they say, 'This is our space.' And off duty, if you're in line, they butt in." What made him so sure of the motivation? "It's just a feeling," he replied after a pause—a feeling shared by virtually every other GI whom I met.

Indeed, about the only soldier I encountered who refused publicly to admit any sense of Saudi rejection was the U.S. commander here, Lieutenant General William "Gus" Pagonis, who served as General Norman Schwarzkopf's logistics chief throughout the war and now is in charge of sending the troops and matériel back home again. Pagonis, full of praise for the Saudi hospitality that gave the GIs the Hotel California and the Oasis, adamantly refused to get into the controversy for the record. "I've been given the mission to clean everything out," he said simply, but he is doing so with options open. As he put it, "I can't move this stuff overnight." Privately, a British colonel with UNIKOM, the United Nations Iraq–Kuwait Observation Mission, told me Pagonis had been "surprised at how quickly the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

worm had turned"—that the Saudis had let him know "it's all right having you here, but we don't want you here."

The dilemma throws America's Gulf strategy into confusion. If the Saudis, by far the richest and most powerful of the coalition's Arab members, do not want U.S. troops to linger, who does? U.S. negotiators "were going for the UAE," said the UNIKOM colonel, speculating that conditions in the United Arab Emirates were "marginally more open." The Emirates, however, not only are a thousand or so miles down the Gulf from the Iraqi border but also are divided by their own rivalries and by concerns about Islamic extremism. Bahrain, the island emirate just across the Saudi-built causeway from here, appears happy to host the headquarters of U.S. Navy operations in the Gulf, as it has for years, but it hardly has the stomach, or the space, for a significantly expanded presence. (Not the least of Bahrain's contributions may be its relative permissiveness—the troops can drink at its boisterous hotel bars.)

UNDER the circumstances, Kuwait might appear to be the likeliest place to keep U.S. ground forces and supplies. The kind of disillusionment one finds in Saudi Arabia is, on the surface, non-existent. Signs like "Thanks Bush" are still visible on the walls of buildings. Kuwaitis don't hesitate to say they wish the American troops would stay on. GIs who have served in both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait are quick to note the difference. The Saudis "stick up their noses at you," said Specialist Brian Cordeiro, who has since returned to Massachusetts with his reserve unit. "The Kuwaitis were nicer. The people were friendlier."

Even the Kuwaiti reception, however, is cooling off as Kuwait lurches to its feet—thanks to a reconstruction program headed by U.S. Army engineers, who started by restoring water and electricity and now are overseeing, among other things, the rebuilding of schools in time to reopen in the fall. Kuwaiti officials have donated lavish office space in a downtown skyscraper for the engineers, and they have turned over a vast modern warehouse complex in the town of Doha near Kuwait City for the only U.S. Army combat troops left on the Arabian peninsula. But the Americans are operating on a tight timetable. "The secretary of defense said One September," said Brigadier General Robert Goodbary, commander of what is called "Task Force Victory Forward."

The key element in Goodbary's force is the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment, which missed out on the war but arrived here from Germany in June, in time to maneuver through desert minefields in the killing heat. "The environment gives you tremendous training opportunities," said Goodbary—even though the skies are oily grey much of the time from smoke still belching forth from hundreds of oil-well fires set by fleeing Iraqi troops five months ago. Goodbary claims to "limit activities" when the skies are darkest, but he revels in what he is doing. "We'll be challenged daily," he said. "We can participate in a great world mission."

Kuwaiti officials would like nothing better than for that mission to end by Secretary Dick Cheney's September deadline. Inexorably, the Kuwaitis are reverting to their pre-invasion policy of keeping their American "friends" at arm's length, welcoming their presence aboard ships in the Gulf, receiving admirals and generals and "experts" but few others. Ultimately, if the Kuwaitis have their way, the only U.S. combat ground forces anywhere near their territory will be 2,200 Marines semi-permanently at sea.

There is, however, one flaw in the outlook of Washington's leading Gulf partners that even their own princes and emirs would be hard put to deny: Who else can really scour those desert sands if the Iraqis break the terms of the ceasefire? The Kuwaitis historically have relied on foreigners for everything from expertise to sweated labor. Kuwaitis are deeply troubled by the question of how to deal with their Palestinians, down to about 150,000 of the 450,000 who once lived there. Kuwaitis accuse Palestinians not only of collaborating with the enemy but of challenging them professionally and economically—and refuse to let them return to reclaim abandoned property and bank accounts.

Even so, Kuwaiti ministries are rehiring a few Palestinian technicians; banks are taking back some of their Palestinian accountants and analysts. All the while, foreign contractors are flooding the hotels, seeking lucrative opportunities to rebuild a country that cannot hope to revive without them. At the headquarters of the Kuwait Oil Company in Ahmadi, Kuwaiti bureaucrats and engineers work with contractors hired to fight fires and "cap" wells. "It's going real well," said drilling supervisor Gary Carr, wearing the scarlet uniform of Red Adair's Texas fire-fighting outfit. "We started with absolutely nothing—all the equipment was flown in."

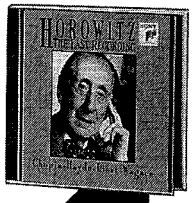
JUST LIKE the foreign troops. On the road north toward the Iraqi frontier, beyond the "Valley of Death" still littered by bombed out Iraqi vehicles and crates of live ammunition, I ran into a squadron of the 11th Armored Cavalry. "You can imagine the difference between here and sunny Germany," said the squadron commander, Lieutenant Colonel Steve Speakes. Besides, he observed, "You wouldn't believe the amount of ordnance we're finding—there are millions of unexploded rounds out there."

Up the road, at the checkpoint, Kuwaiti soldiers were resting comfortably in armchairs, except for one or two stopping cars to check identification papers. There were no other signs of Kuwaiti forces, though some officers and more troops were said to be in a command post a few miles away. "This is a military area," a soldier clad in a T-shirt told me at the checkpoint, but only the absence of traffic on what had once been a heavily traveled highway indicated that much had changed. Perhaps nothing else—other than the foolhardy recalcitrance of the Iraqis in the face of UN inspectors—better dramatized the need for a minimal but effective allied force right there, on the ground.

At his headquarters in Dhahran, Pagonis, before going to the Hotel California for his customary noon-hour laps, said he was "not going to get into the strategic and tactical movement of the troops." Schwarzkopf had told him only "to stay here until it's over." Still, he could not help defending the value of a standing force by a look at recent history. "The presence of the U.S. army was a silent victory" in Germany, he said. "The army can be proud of its role in tearing down the walls"—by remaining at or near the front, on maneuvers, supported by large caches of strategic and tactical arms for use whenever the enemy threatened the peace. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIC



Vladimir Horowitz—The Last Recording (Sony Classical) 405·985

H.M.S. Gilbert & Sullivan. Highlights from H.M.S. Pinafore, others. Elders, Rochester Phil. (Pro Arte) 411·728

Ashkenazy...Live In Moscow. He plays and conducts Beethoven's Third Piano Concerto. Also Mussorgsky/Ravel, more (MCA Classics) 411·504

London Brass—Romantic Journey (Teldec) 418·541

Scarlatti: Sonatas. A. Newman, harpsichord (Newport Classic) 402·321

TAKE ANY 8 COMPACT

Roger Norrington—Schubert: Symphonies No. 5 & 8. (Unfinished). London Classical Players (Angel) 414·102

Jean Pierre Rampal/S. Kudo—Concertos For Two Flutes. Mozarteum Orch. Salzburg (Sony Classical) 418·228

Anner Bylsma—J.S. Bach: Sonatas For Viola Da Gamba (Sony Classical) 418·400

The King's Singers—On The Beautiful Blue Danube. Music of Johann Strauss II (Angel) 414·367

Holst: The Planets. Andrew Davis, Toronto Sym.(Angel) 352·534

Issac Stern & Jean-Pierre Rampal—Vivaldi: 6 Double Concertos (Sony Classical) 417·535

Kiri Te Kanawa—Italian Opera Arias (Angel) 416·032

Puccini: Tosca. Eva Marton; Jose Carreras; Juan Pons; Tilson-Thomas, cond.(Sony Classical) 414·359/394·353

Anthony Newman—Mozart: Complete Music For String Orchestra Brandenberg Collegium (Newport Classic) 413·880

Carlo Maria Giulini—Mussorgsky: Pictures At An Exhibition; Stravinsky: The Firebird (Sony Classical) 413·625

Beethoven: Symphony No. 9 (Choral). Norrington, London Classical Players (Angel) 365·619

Midori—Bartok: Violin Concertos 1 & 2. Zubin Mehta/Berlin Philharmonic (Sony Classical) 414·748

William Albright—The Complete Rags Of Scott Joplin (Musicmasters) 414·722/394·726

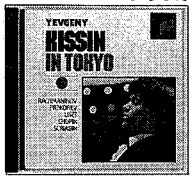
Brahms: The Piano Quartets Op. 25, 26, & 60. Ax/Stern/Laredo/Ma(Sony Classical) 413·724/393·728

Smetana: Ma Vlast ("My Homeland"). Libor Pesek, Royal Liverpool Phil. (Virgin Classics) 410·621

Mozart: The Complete Piano Sonatas, Volume 1. Philippe Entremont, piano (Pro Arte) 409·953

Brahms: Sonata No. 3; 3 Intermezzi, Op. 117. Emanuel Ax, piano (Sony Classical) 409·375

Anthony Newman—Beethoven: Four Great Sonatas (Newport Classic) 376·046



Yevgeny Kissin—Kissin In Tokyo (Sony Classical) 413·161

Roger Norrington—Mendelssohn: Symphonies No. 3 (Scotch), No. 4 (Italian). London Classical Players (Angel) 414·110

Beethoven: Overtures. Sir Colin Davis, Barvarian Radio Orch. (CBS Master.) 345·199

French Impressions—Tortelier and English Chamber Orch. Play Music Of Debussy, Faure, etc. (Virgin Classics) 376·004

Schubert: Impromptus, Opp. 90 & 142. M. Perahia (CBS Master.) 343·707

Brahms: Piano Concerto No. 1. Peter Serkin; Robert Shaw, Atlanta Sym.(Pro Arte) 363·127

Wynton Marsalis Plays Trumpet Concertos by Haydn, Hummel, L. Mozart. Leppard, National Phil. (CBS Master.) 343·624

Sibelius: Symphony No.1; Oceanides. Rattle, Birmingham Symphony Orch.(Angel) 343·467

Roger Norrington—Schumann: Symphonies Nos. 3 (Rhenish) & 4. London Classical Players (Angel) 414·094

Wagner: Overtures. Tannhauser; Lohengrin; Die Meistersinger; more. Tennstedt, Berlin Phil. (Angel) 330·134

Christopher Parkening/ David Brandon—Virtuoso Duets (Angel) 413·823

Bach: Goldberg Variations. Glenn Gould (CBS Master.) 343·251

Tchaikovsky: 1812 Over.; Marche Slave; etc. Ozawa, Berlin Phil.(Angel) 343·244

Chopin: Four Ballades; Sonata No. 2. Andrei Gavrilov(Angel) 343·103

Great Opera Choruses. Richard Hickox, London Symphony and Chorus (MCA Classics) 404·210

Jean-Pierre Rampal/ Marielle Nordmann—Music For Flute And Harp (Sony Classical) 404·228

Chopin: Piano Concertos Nos. 1 & 2. Murray Perahia; Mehta, Israel Phil. (Sony Classical) 403·337

Debussy: Afternoon Of A Faun; others. Batiz, Sym. Orch. State of Mexico (Musicmasters) 402·255

Sharon Isbin—Road To The Sun (Estrada Do Sol) Latin Romances For Guitar (Virgin Classics) 413·179

Mozart: Violin Concerto No. 2; etc. Cho-Liang Lin; Leppard, English Chamber Orch. (Sony Class.)410·373

Tchaikovsky: Ballet Music. From *Swan Lake; The Sleeping Beauty;* etc. Batiz, Royal Philharmonic (Musicmasters) 402·115

Handel: Water Music. Marriner, Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (Angel) 401·638

Best Of The Canadian Brass (CBS) 401·596

Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 4 and 5. Norrington, London Classical Players (Angel) 400·184

Brahms: Violin Concerto; **Bruch:** Concerto No. 1. Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg; De Waart, Minnesota Orch.(Angel) 400·135

Midori—Paganini Caprices (CBS Master.) 389·791

Beethoven: Piano & Violin Sonatas. Vol 1. I. Stern, E. Istomin(CBS Master.) 341·982/391·987

Debussy: Images; Jeux; etc. Rattle, Birmingham Sym. (Angel) 404·707

Handel: Music For The Royal Fireworks; more. Malgoire, La Grande Ecurie (CBS Master.) 346·015

LIGHT CLASSICS

A Night At The Opera—A Mozart Gala. Pinza, Domingo, Te Kanawa, many more (CBS) 416·131

The Movies Go To The Opera. Callas, Gedda, etc. (Angel Studio) 372·342

Leonard Bernstein, cond.—Marches Greatest Hits. N.Y. Philharmonic (CBS Master.) 414·813

Frederica von Stade—My Funny Valentine—songs by Rodgers & Hart. McGlinn, London Sym. & Chorus (Angel) 414·789

Thomas Hampson—An Old Song Re-Sung. American Concert Songs (Angel) 414·763

Cole Porter: Kiss Me Kate. First recording of the full score. McGlinn, cond. (Angel) 413·773/393·777

Erich Kunzel's Greatest Hits. Rochester Pops (Pro Arte) 411·405

Leopold Stokowski—Fantasia/Remasterd Original Soundtrack (Buena Vista) 410·043

Bach's Greatest Hits, Vol. 1.—Toccata & Fugue; etc. Biggs, Casals; etc. (CBS Master.) 330·530

John Williams, Boston Pops Orch.—Music Of The Night; Pops On Broadway 1990 (Sony Classical) 405·993

Puccini's Greatest Hits. Te Kanawa, Pavarotti, Marton, Carreras, Tucker (CBS Master.) 405·811

More Mozart's Greatest Hits. Szell, Ormandy etc. (CBS Master.) 405·258

Ormandy, cond.—Classical Jukebox Vol.I Philadelphia Orch. (CBS Master.) 403·378

Show Boat—Broadway Show Album. Von Stade, Hadley, Stratas; McGlinn, cond. (Angel) 402·586

Amore—The Great Italian Love Arias. Te Kanawa, Pavarotti, Marton, more. (CBS Master.) 402·081

Cole Porter: Anything Goes. McGlinn, London Symphony & Ambrosian Chorus(Angel) 401·620

Mozart At The Movies—Music heard in Amadeus, Out Of Africa, M.A.S.H., etc. (CBS Master.) 401·612

Ballet's Greatest Hits—(Vol.2) Ormandy, Boulez, etc. (CBS Master.) 388·751

Ballet's Greatest Hits—(Vol. 1) Copland, Boulez, Kostelanetz, etc. (CBS Master.) 388·744

Bolling: Sonatas For Two Pianos. Claude Bolling and Emanuel Ax (CBS Master.) 388·546

Dinner Classics—The Viennese Album (CBS Master.) 386·508

Dinner Classics—The Italian Album (CBS Master.) 386·490

Dinner Classics—The French Album (CBS Master.) 386·482

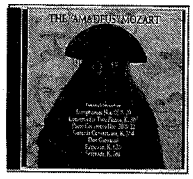
Greatest Hits Of The Trumpet. Schwarz, others (CBS Master.) 380·006

Igor Kipnis—Greatest Hits Of The Harpsichord (CBS Master.) 379·990

Greatest Hits—The Flute. Rampal, Robison, etc. (CBS Master.) 379·982

John Williams—Greatest Hits - The Guitar, Vol. 1 (CBS Master.) 379·974

Leonard Bernstein, conductor—The Encore Collection, Vol. II (CBS Master.) 371·054



The "Amadeus" Mozart—music featured in the hit film (CBS) 416·123

Leonard Bernstein, conductor—The Encore Collection, Vol. II (CBS Master.) 371·054

Leonard Bernstein, conductor—The Encore Collection, Vol. I (CBS Master.) 371·047

Claude Bolling: Bolling's Greatest Hits (CBS) 369·751

Tchaikovsky's Greatest Hits (Vol. 2)—Bernstein, Ormandy, Phila. Orch., etc. (CBS Master.) 364·216

Greatest Hits—The Violin. Stern, Zukerman, etc. (CBS Master.) 379·966

Bernstein Conducts Bernstein. New York Phil. (CBS Master.) 355·784

Bernstein: "Candide". Original Cast Recording (CBS Master.) 355·768

Bernstein: Fancy Free & Facsimile (Complete Ballets); Candide Over.; etc. Slatkin, St. Louis Sym.(Angel) 349·688

Brahms' Greatest Hits—Bernstein, Entremont, etc. (CBS Master.) 333·864

John Williams Conducts The Star Wars Trilogy (Sony Classical) 414·730

Chopin's Greatest Hits—Entremont, Ormandy, etc. (CBS Master.) 333·856

Mozart's Greatest Hits—Theme From Elvira Madigan; Rondo Alla Turca; more. Gould, others (CBS Master.) 330·613

Kiri Te Kanawa Sings Gershwin(Angel) 359·745

Debussy's Greatest Hits—Clair De Lune; etc. Ormandy, Bernstein, etc. (CBS Master.) 330·605

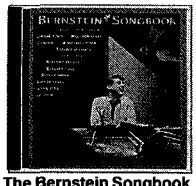
Rachmaninoff's Greatest Hits—Graffman, Bernstein, Ormandy, etc. (CBS Master.) 330·589

Bach's Greatest Hits (Vol. 2)—Biggs, Gould, etc. (CBS Master.) 330·571

Beethoven's Greatest Hits—Fur Elise; others. Bernstein, Entremont, etc. (CBS Master.) 330·563

Johann Strauss' Greatest Hits—Emperor Waltz; etc. Ormandy, Phila. Orch. (CBS Master.) 330·548

Tchaikovsky's Greatest Hits (Vol. 1)—Bernstein, Ormandy, New York Phil, etc. (CBS Master.) 330·555



The Bernstein Songbook—Selections from West Side Story, On The Town, etc. (CBS) 371·088

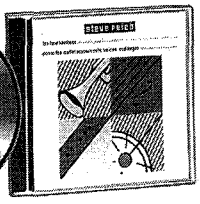
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

S·ON·CD

Kiri Te Kanawa—Verdi & *Puccini* (CBS Master.) 343·269

Brahms: The 3 Violin Sonatas—Itzhak Perlman and Daniel Barenboim (Sony Classical) 409·367

Nadja Salerno-Sonnenberg—*Vivaldi:* The 4 Seasons. Orch. Of St. Lukes (Angel) 416·248



Steve Reich—The Four *Sections; more* (Elektra/Nonesuch) 416·651

Murray Perahia—The Aldeburgh Recital (Sony Classical) 416·222

DISCS FOR 1¢

PLUS A CHANCE TO GET ONE MORE CD—FREE!
see details below

Vladimir Horowitz—Favorite Chopin (CBS Master.) 355·156

Vladimir Horowitz In Concert, 1967-1968 (CBS Master.) 386·532

Stravinsky: Firebird, Jeu de Cartes. Esa-Pekka Salonen, Philharmonia (CBS Master.) 385·203

The King's Singers—20th Anniversary Celebration Sampler (Angel) 385·021

Dvorak: Symphony No. 9 (New World); American Suite. Libor Pesek, Royal Liverpool Philharmonic (Virgin Classics) 383·182

Berlioz: Symphonie Fantastique. Norrington, London Classical Players (Angel) 382·747

Gershwin: Rhapsody In Blue; etc. Tilson Thomas, L.A. Philharmonic (CBS Master.) 339·226

Mozart: Symphonies Nos. 40 & 41 (Jupiter). Kubelik, Bavarian Radio Symphony (CBS Master.) 339·044

Prokofiev: Sym. No. 1 (Classical); Suite "Love Of 3 Oranges." Maazel, Orch. National de France (CBS Master.) 341·297

Stravinsky: Rite Of Spring; Symphony In Three Movements. Salonen, Philharmonia (Sony Classical) 409·342

Isaac Stern— Humoresque Favorite Violin Encores (CBS Master.) 405·720

Handel: Messiah Highlights. A. Davis, Toronto Sym.(Angel) 381·277

Dvorak: Slavonic Dances, Op. 46 & 72. Maazel, Berlin Philharm. (Angel) 379·248

Rossini: Overtures. Marriner, Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (Angel) 378·695

Tchaikovsky: Symphony No. 4; Romeo & Juliet. Abbado, Chicago Sym. (CBS Master.) 378·679

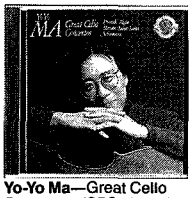
Britten: The Young Person's Guide To The Orch.; 4 Sea Interludes (Peter Grimes); others. Marriner, Minnesota Orch.(Angel) 336·966

Handel: Arias. Sung By Kathleen Battle (Angel) 407·155

Tchaikovsky: Piano Concertos Nos. 1 & 3. Feltsman; Rostropovich, National Symphony Orch. (Sony Classical) 409·227

Tchaikovsky: Violin Concerto; etc. Zukerman; Mehta, Israel Philhar. (CBS Master.) 336·461

Ravel: Bolero; Rapsodie Espagnole; Ma Mere L'Oye. Thomas, London Sym.(CBS Master.)376·772



Yo-Yo Ma—Great Cello Concertos (CBS Master) 401·604/391·607

Borodin: Sym. No. 2; Prince Igor Overture & Polovtsian Dances. Batiz, Sym. Orch. Of Mexico (Musicmasters) 378·034

Elgar: Enigma Variations; Pomp & Circumstance Marches. Andrew Davis, Philharmonia Orch. (CBS Master.) 376·905

Jose Carreras—Italian Opera Composers' Songs (Sony Classical) 408·591

Mozart: Requiem. Giulini, Philharmonia Orch. (Sony Classical) 408·575

Brahms: Symphony No. 1. Tennstedt, London Phil. (Angel) 332·668

Beethoven: Symphonies Nos. 1 & 6. Norrington, London Classical Players (Angel) 373·985

Andres Segovia Collection., Vol. 4. Baroque guitar (MCA Classics) 375·998

Mahler: Symphony No. 4. Kathleen Battle, Soprano; Lorin Maazel, Vienna Phil.(CBS Master.) 332·866

Dvorak: Violin Concerto; Romance; Carnival Over. Midori; Mehta, NY Phil. (CBS Master.) 386·573

New Year's Concert 1990. Mehta,Vienna Phil. (Sony Classical) 407·189

Early Romantic Overtures—Weber, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, etc. Norrington, London Classical Players (Angel) 406·090

Copland: Appalachian Spring (complete); John Henry; Letter From Home; *etc. Slatkin, St. Louis Sym.* (Angel) 373·563

Luciano Pavarotti—Pavarotti in Concert (CBS Master.) 373·548

Mahler: Symphony No. 1. Maazel, Vienna Phil. (CBS Master.) 349·936

Bach: Brandenberg Concertos; etc. Ransom Wilson, Gerald Schwarz, L.A. Chamber Orch. (Angel) 372·367/392·365

Gershwin: American In Paris; Cuban Overture; etc. Slatkin, St. Louis Sym. (Angel) 371·096

Rimsky-Korsakov: Scheherazade; Russian Easter Over.; Mehta, Israel Phil.(CBS Master.) 371·021

Copland Conducts Copland—Fanfare, Rodeo, *Appalachian Spring, more.* LOS & Columbia Sym. (CBS Master.) 367·953

Beethoven, Bruch: Violin Concertos. Isaac Stern (CBS Master.) 353·177

Richard Strauss: Also Sprach Zarathustra; Don Juan. Tennstedt, London Phil. (Angel) 404·715

Debussy: Images; Jeux; etc. Rattle, Birmingham Sym. (Angel) 404·707

Copland Conducts Copland—Billy The Kid (Suite), Portrait (H. Fonda, narrator), more. London Sym. (CBS Master.) 367·482

Bizet: Carmen and L'Arlesienne Suites 1 & 2. Ozawa, Orch. Nat'l De France(Angel) 331·595

Prokofiev: Peter & The Wolf; **Saint/Saens:** Carnival Of The Animals. I. Perlman, K&M Labeque; Mehta, Israel Philharmonic (Angel) 331·322

Canadian Brass—Bach: Art Of The Fugue (CBS Master.) 366·740

Mozart: Eine Kleine Nachtmusik; **Pachelbel:** Canon; more. Marriner, Academy of St. Martin-in-the-Fields(Angel) 367·375

Bartok: Concerto For Orchestra; Suite From The Miraculous Mandarin. Mehta, Berlin Phil. (Sony Classical) 403·410

Selections with two numbers contain 2 CDs and count as 2—so write in both numbers.

- **Just mail the coupon** *and we'll send your* 8 CDs, *together with a bill for* 1¢, plus shipping and handling.
- **You agree** to buy just six more selections in the next three years, at regular Club prices (currently $12.98 to $15.98, plus shipping and handling)–and you may cancel membership at any time after doing so.
- **Free Music Magazine** sent every four weeks (up to13 times a year), describing the Regular Selection, plus hundreds of alternate classical recordings, as well as new releases and all-time favorites from other fields of music. And Special Selection mailings up to six times a year (total of up to 19 buying opportunities).
- **Buy only what you want!** If you want the Regular or Special Selection, do nothing–it will be sent automatically. If you'd prefer an alternate selection, or none at all, just mail the response card always provided by the date specified.
- **You always have 10 days to decide;** if not, you may return the Selection at our expense.
- **Half-Price Bonus Plan.** If you continue your membership after fulfilling your obligation, you'll be eligible for our money-saving bonus plan. It lets you buy one CD at half-price for each CD you buy at regular Club price.
- **10-Day Free Trial.** We'll send details of the Club's operation with your introductory package. If not satisfied, return everything within 10 days and you will have no further obligation.
- **Extra Bonus Offer:** You may take one additional CD right now at the super-low price of only $6.95–and you are then entitled to take an extra CD as a bonus FREE! And you'll receive your discounted CD and your bonus CD with your 8 introductory selections–**a total of 10 CDs in all!**

COLUMBIA HOUSE: Terre Haute, IN 47811

COLUMBIA HOUSE, 1400 N. Fruitridge Ave. **334/F91**
P.O. Box 1129, Terre Haute, Indiana 47811-1129

Please accept my membership under the terms outlined in this advertisement. Send me the 8 CDs listed below and bill me 1¢, plus shipping and handling. I agree to buy six more selections at regular Club prices, in the coming three years–and may cancel my membership at any time after doing so.

SEND ME THESE 8 CDs FOR 1¢		

Send my ☑ CLASSICAL CDs to the following address:

☐ Mr.
☐ Mrs. _____ Age_____
☐ Miss Print First Name Initial Last Name

Address _____ Apt._____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Do you have a VCR? (04) ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No**
Do you have a credit card? (03) ☐ **Yes** ☐ **No** 9T5-F6-59

☐ **Extra Bonus Offer:** Also send one more CD now, for which I will be billed only $6.95.

...and I'm entitled to get this extra CD FREE!

Note: we reserve the right to reject any application or cancel any membership. These offers not available in APO, FPO, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico; write for details of alternative offer. Canadian residents serviced from Toronto. Applicable sales tax added to all orders.

© 1991, The Columbia House Company

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

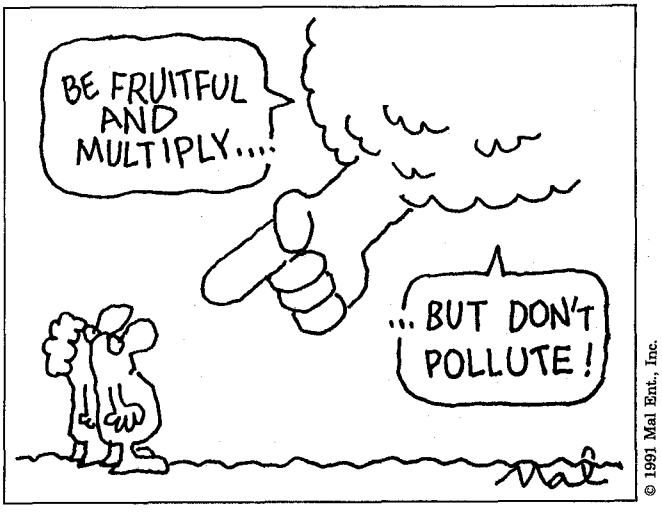
help

A Wail at the Whitney

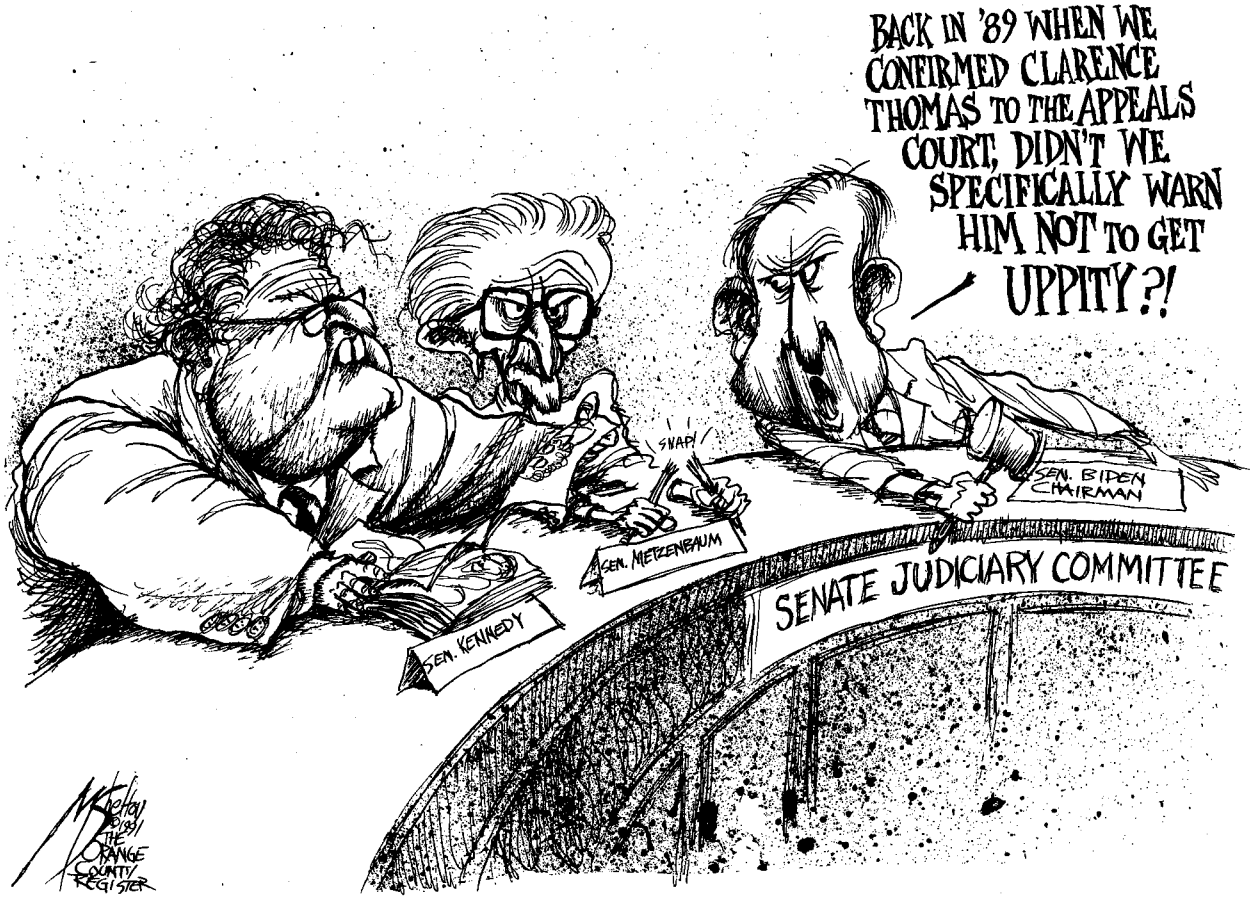
I need a clue. Dear artist, I
Am desperate to relate
To what you've drawn beneath your—sky?—
But all response must wait

While I inspect your title, sir,
Step back, step forward, catch
A glimmer, lose it (senses blur),
And stand distracted, as it were,
'Cause what you say or hint, infer,
And what you paint don't *match*.

MAUREEN CANNON



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

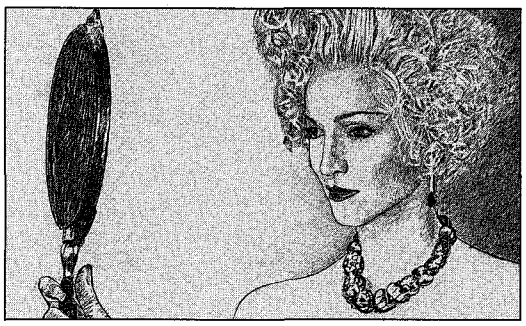

BACK IN '89 WHEN WE CONFIRMED CLARENCE THOMAS TO THE APPEALS COURT, DIDN'T WE SPECIFICALLY WARN HIM NOT TO GET UPPITY?!
SNAP!
SEN. BIDEN CHAIRMAN
SEN. METZENBAUM
SEN. KENNEDY
SENATE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE
McCall ©1991 THE ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER

The Ambulance Chasers.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Sign of the Crotch

SINGLE SEX AND THE GIRL



Meet Madonna, scourge of the Pharisees, defender of artistic integrity, exposer of Christian uncharity.

JOSEPH SOBRAN

IN ONE SCENE in *Truth or Dare*—a documentary, of sorts, of her "Blond Ambition" concert tour—Madonna phones her father to ask if he's coming to see her perform. He says he understands her act is pretty "racy" and inquires as to whether she'll "tone it down" for him and the family. No, she answers; she won't "compromise my artistic integrity."

A few minutes later, we see that uncompromised artistic integrity as she lies on a bed onstage. The stage is dark, except for the bed. Standing beside her are two black male dancers wearing weird conical brassieres. As she sings "Like a Virgin," she vigorously massages her crotch, moaning and arching her back spasmodically. There's more, but you get the basic idea. The huge crowd goes wild.

Madonna is a genius at getting attention. Everything she does gets attention—her records, her videos, her movies, her marriage, her divorce, her amours (including a joke that she'd had a lesbian relationship with the comedienne Sandra Bernhard). When she showed up at the Cannes Film Festival with her hair dyed a new color, her face appeared on the front page of the *New York Daily News*. She has been on the cover of every magazine except *National Geographic*.

How does she do it? As she admits, she's not a great singer, a great dancer, or even—at least in repose—a great looker. She can't act. Yet she has the most flamboyantly theatrical personality since . . . well, who was the last one? Bette Davis? Joan Crawford? Tallulah Bankhead? Some people have what I can only call contagious vanity. You may even dislike them, but you can't take your eyes off them. Madonna is like that. In a country where people want to be liked (maybe even more ardently than they want to be loved), she dares you to hate her.

"Madonna is the true feminist," writes Camille Paglia, herself a sort of anti-feminist feminist. "She exposes the puritanism and suffocating ideology of American feminism . . . Madonna has taught young women to be fully female and sexual while still exercising total control over their lives. She shows girls how to be attractive, sensual, energetic, ambitious, aggressive, and funny—all at the same time."

Kink and Danger

SHE'S undeniably magnetic, but it's a calculating magnetism, a carefully constructed aura of kink and danger. If she seems to be shattering conventions, she's also there to pick up the pieces. One of her steamier videos, "Like a Prayer," shows her in a Catholic church adoring a statue of a black saint, who comes to life and kisses her passionately. She receives the stigmata, and there are burning crosses and things, and . . . well, again, you get the idea: a deliberate fusion of such themes as sex, race, and religion. These elements are combined in surreal montage, and the effect is eerie, shocking, Weimar decadent.

An even more explicit video, "Justify My Love," did succeed in outraging people, and even easy-going MTV refused to play it. "The video is pornographic," Miss Paglia writes. "It's decadent. And it's fabulous. MTV was right to ban it." But she chides Madonna for copping out on *Nightline* by pleading "her love of children, her social activism, and her condom endorsements." If you want to shock people, go ahead and shock 'em. But don't blame them for *being* shocked.

Mr. Sobran, NR's Critic-at-Large, writes a twice-a-week syndicated column for Universal Press.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The trouble is that Madonna wants to have it both ways. (One problem in writing about her is that everything tends to sound like a double-entendre.) She clearly knows what she's doing, but wants to pretend she doesn't. Her calculation is shown in one sequence in *Truth or Dare* when her tour arrives in Toronto and she is told that the police are prepared to arrest her if she does the masturbation bit. She asks what the penalty is. She learns she'll probably just be booked, fined, and released. This, to her, is a cheap price to pay for the international front-page publicity she stands to get, so she goes ahead with it. The cops back down and do nothing. Never has the structure of incentives been so favorable to artistic martyrdom.

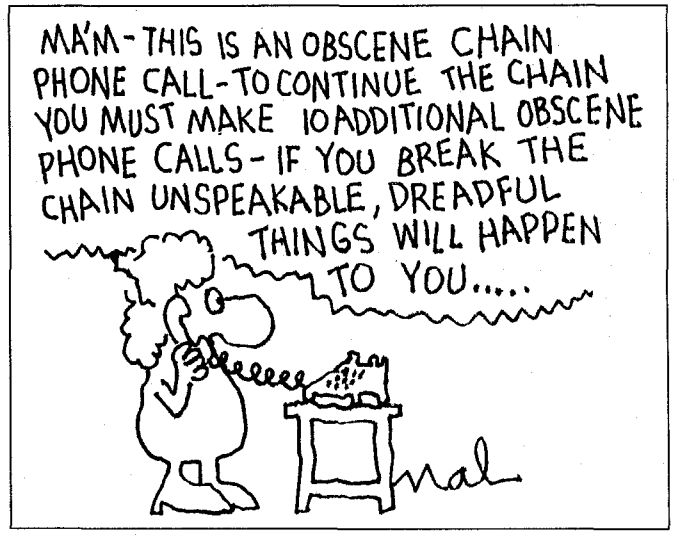
A similar event occurs in Italy, where she finds on her arrival that the Vatican has denounced her in advance. She holds a press conference, and says that as an Italian-American she resents this prejudicial treatment. Hers is no "conventional" rock act, but "a total theatrical experience." The note of pique sounds sincere enough, but she also knows that in her terms the Vatican has done her a favor. Madonna has a keen sense of whom it's profitable to offend and whom it isn't. She surrounds herself with blacks and homosexuals. She is heavy into AIDS education: "Next to Hitler, AIDS is the worst thing to happen in the twentieth century," she told *Vanity Fair* recently—a good, conventional, and convenient view to hold in her line of work. And when the Simon Wiesenthal Center in Los Angeles attacked her for including the phrase "synagogue of Satan" (from the book of Revelation) in one of her songs, she apologized.

In the film, one of her dancers worries that his scene of simulated sex with her will hurt his career. "In this country it works the other way around," she answers. "The more notorious you are, the more you are going to work! Don't you guys understand that?" Indeed. Nothing is more conventional than the daring. In *Truth or Dare*, she talks nonstop raunch, bares her breasts, gets into bed with a naked dancer and whoops about the size of his organ (it's all right, he's gay), and much, much more.

The Good Christian

RAISED a Catholic by devout parents (her mother died when she was six), Madonna's target of choice is Catholicism. Her concert and video performances abound in crucifixes, dancers dressed as priests fondling her, and so forth. It's exciting. It's outrageous. It sells. Naturally, much of her following consists of lapsed Catholics, typified by the columnist Pete Hamill, who calls her "a good Christian." You can write a Hamill column with your eyes closed: Jesus preferred Mary Magdalene to the Pharisees, drove the money-changers out of the Temple, hated prigs—a lot like Pete Hamill, come to think of it. This sort of approval (terribly smug, in its own way) implies that because Jesus forgave unchastity, he didn't regard it as a sin. Not only is this a non-sequitur, it overlooks some very stern words in the Gospels, sterner, in fact, than anything in St. Paul, the favorite scapegoat of lapsed Christians who want to insist that it's only the *Church* they object to—nothing against Jesus, you understand.

Charity is of course the supreme Christian virtue, and those who fail in chastity often insist that they make up for it in charity. But there is more than one way of being uncharitable, and self-serving solicitude for today's accredited victims—"compassion," for short—doesn't necessarily cover a multitude of sins. In *Truth or Dare* we learn that Madonna leads her troupe in prayer before every performance. But the tone of her prayer is imperious and stagy. The viewer wonders if praying with the boss—or rather standing there submissively while *she* prays—is part of the job description of dancer. The question acquires a special urgency


MA'M-THIS IS AN OBSCENE CHAIN PHONE CALL-TO CONTINUE THE CHAIN YOU MUST MAKE 10 ADDITIONAL OBSCENE PHONE CALLS-IF YOU BREAK THE CHAIN UNSPEAKABLE, DREADFUL THINGS WILL HAPPEN TO YOU.....
mal
© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.

when the prayer turns into a chewing-out of some of those in the circle. She stops just short of demanding divine retribution against those who have offended her.

Madonna is even less charitable toward the Church itself. "I've always known that Catholicism is a completely sexist, repressed, sin- and punishment-based religion," she told an interviewer for *Us* magazine. She was even blunter to *Vanity Fair*: "I think it's disgusting. I think it's hypocritical. And it's unloving. It's not what God and Christianity are all about." Nearly every interview she gives includes bitter remarks about the Church and its "rules." It's the only subject, apart from herself, she regularly talks about.

But her father is still a faithful Catholic, and in *Truth or Dare* we see her fretting at the idea of his seeing her perform "Like a Virgin." In fact she *does* "tone it down" when he's in the audience, and she hales him onto the stage to be introduced to the crowd. He seems a mild fellow, confusedly proud of his famous daughter. Her anxiety about being seen by him *in flagrante* is puzzling: she seems bent on offending everyone who believes in the things he believes in, but not *him*. Why this exemption? If she hates the faith she was raised in, why doesn't she blame the man who raised her?

"She doesn't want to live off-camera," jokes Warren Beatty, her beau at the time of the filming. "Why would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

you bother to say something if it's off-camera?" Because Madonna finds everything about Madonna absolutely fascinating, that's why. Imagine a film in which it's left to Warren Beatty to sound the note of common sense.

"I find myself drawn to emotional cripples," Madonna says, explaining the odd assortment of characters she surrounds herself with. "I like to play mother." Oh. We see her visiting her own mother's grave (for the first

IMMATERIAL GIRL

MADONNA is a young woman of no special distinction: she does not sing or dance or act or write songs especially well, and though, dolled up, she can look sexy on stage or screen, seeing her at a party confirmed my suspicion that natural endowments had little to do with any of it. Business acumen and hype had a big part in it, though, starting with her dropping her surname and calling herself plain Madonna, a name eliciting reverence and awe among all Christians. Also among art lovers, to whom the great Renaissance depictions of the Virgin, and even such secular Madonnas as Lisa and Lucrezia, are objects of aesthetic veneration. There is, further, the titillation of the forbidden, of sacrilege: here is a Madonna you can see in the semi-nude and imagine having sex with. That, surely, is the message of her concerts, videos, and album covers, of the censorship battles her appearances have aroused.

Don't get me wrong: Madonna is not entirely without talent, but as you watch ***Madonna: Truth or Dare***, you conclude that this talent scarcely exceeds that of, say, an average band singer of the Big Band era, or one of those Hollywood starlets who, after a few minor roles, disappeared into marriage, drug addiction, or suicide. But there is that quality more important than serious talent: fanatical belief in oneself. There can be no doubt that the foremost practitioner of this latter-day Mariolatry is Madonna herself.

To Madonna's credit be it said that in the young prodigy Alek Keshishian, she has found a filmmaker with the right sensibility and aptitude to be her photohistorian, and that she evidently permitted him to film, besides various performances, plenty of backstage and private activity, some of it rather frank. But it is the privilege of celebrity—at least as it is conceived nowadays—to be its own morality: hype makes right. Impudence passes for candor; exhibitionism, for honesty.

The excerpts from the concerts are shown in color; the rest is black and white. Quite so: for Madonna, the show *is* life, in life's own colors; whereas life is something monochromatic, stylized. The crowds—in America, Europe, Japan—eat her up. The curious thing, though, is to see how small Madonna (a small person to begin with) appears to the average fan not seated at the front of one of those giant stadiums or auditoriums. But, then, TV and MTV have miniaturized the human frame: television size is the normal format of celebrity. As long, that is, as the sound and the fury are there full blast. Madonna's cavortings on stage are relentless, and even more so is the amplified music. I imagine that, by a kind of synaesthesia, explosive sound makes the crowd *see* big.

Throughout, we watch Madonna planning, plotting, commanding, cajoling, praising, rebuking, threatening (the Canadian police are no match for *her*!)—in short, proving herself an above-average commandant and wheeler-dealer. For those she does business with, Madonna is a tyrant. For her numerous personnel—performers, technicians, staff—she is everything from Big Sister to brood hen, from understanding Mom to sassy dominatrix. And, with magnificent megalomania (or comic self-delusion), she is always the Artist fighting for the freedom of self-expression in her Art. Only when she has to play Detroit, with her father in the audience, does she show anxiety. But though Papa does voice—actually, only murmur—a demurrer, his daughter's success, fame, and wealth (whose beneficiary, like his ne'er-do-well of a son, Madonna's loutish brother, he is) compel him to join in worshipping at the shrine. The old-style patriarch is putty in the hands of the revisionist goddess.

Madonna's shrewdness is evidenced also in her choice of singers and dancers. The women are carefully chosen to be ethnic and less attractive than she is; the men, likewise, are mostly ethnics and, it would seem, homosexuals. This leaves her both an equal-opportunity employer and unequaled in pulchritude and power. Particularly revelatory is a protosexual flirtation she conducts with a physically well endowed but emotionally weak black male dancer; this relationship is the prototype of her domination and is of considerable clinical interest.

There is no full-fledged sexuality in the movie, but near the end, in a game of truth or dare, Madonna is asked to show her technique with men, and performs fellatio on an empty bottle. She acquits herself with a mixture of arrogant aplomb and ludicrous pathos. I was reminded of her lengthy and inept performance at last year's Academy Awards ceremony when, doing an act over which she didn't have the control she exercises over her concerts, she was "dying" before millions of viewers from Los Angeles to Timbuktu. In vaudeville days, she would have earned the hook ten times over; here and now she was going to brazen it out, and did. The formula is not so much truth or dare as die and dare, dare anyway. A mouth that won't take no for an answer can coax an orgasm even out of an inert piece of glass.

But to prove to us what a good person she is underneath, *Truth or Dare* also affords us the touching spectacle of Madonna prostrate on her mother's grave, pouring her heart out to Mom. And always, always she carries on about her Art. If patriotism, as Dr. Johnson observed, is the last refuge of a scoundrel, may not Art (with a capital A) be the last refuge of a no-talent? —JOHN SIMON

Mr. Simon, NR's film critic, is also theater critic for New York *magazine.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

time); naturally, she dresses in black for the occasion, brings a camera crew along, and lies down to kiss the tombstone. We see her backstage, complaining about a mike failure to a hapless technician. We see her dining with friends. We see her shopping in Paris. We see her meeting an old school chum, who she tells us once did something naughty to her at a pajama party. (The school chum, now a mother of five, denies it when informed of it; she looks shocked by this ambush, having named a daughter Madonna.) We see her telling someone or another that her mission is to be "provocative" and "political." We see, in fact, two hours of this carefully staged "spontaneity," and two hours trapped in a dark room with *that* ego feels like a week.

The Real Madonna

TALKING to *Vanity Fair*, Madonna gets defensive: "People will say, 'She knows the camera is on, she's just acting.' But even if I *am* acting, there's a truth in my acting. . . . You could watch it and say, I still don't know Madonna, and *good*. Because you will never know the real me. Ever." You mean there's *more*?

Well, if we never know the real Madonna, we won't have Madonna to blame for it. She talks about herself volubly, incessantly; she poses for photo stills dressed up as Marilyn Monroe and other sexpots. It's as if her privacy might unfairly deprive us of something. Or rather, as if she wanted to *become* all the fascinating women of the past, and reveal their mysteries to us. Instead she creates the disconcerting impression that all the mystery may have been bogus; maybe those women *were* like her: self-absorbed little bores who talked in clichés about "art" and "truth," when they weren't talking about themselves. One would rather not know.

As for "truth," Madonna isn't interested in any that may inconvenience her. It never crosses her mind that there may be more to Catholicism than her spiteful parody of it, which is of an order of glibness that would embarrass Phil Donahue. For her there is no fundamental order in life, only arbitrary "rules." Do whatcha want, as long as you practice "safe sex," that mirage of those who think selfishness and sensuality can be calculating and civic-minded even at the peak of ardor. It isn't just that she's hopelessly banal whenever she tries to share an insight. It's that she has reached that pitch of egomania at which celebrity supposes itself oracular. That's when you say things like "Power is a great aphrodisiac," and you think it sounds impressive. (We may note in passing that the Me Decade is now entering its third decade.)

And as for "art," well, philosophers differ. But it's widely believed by wise people that art and ego sit uneasily together. The true artist, even if his ego is as muscular as Beethoven's, creates something outside himself. Art is not "self-expression" in the sense that its focus of interest lies in its creator; rather, it is self-contained. Its value doesn't depend on our knowledge of the artist. *Hamlet* is a great play no matter who wrote it. *Parsifal* is a great opera even if Wagner did compose it.

But for Madonna, art is defined by the censors: it's whatever they don't like. So someone who gets the censors howling must be an artist.

Silly, but a lot of people agree with her, and they buy tickets. Madonna offers something new under the sun: vicarious self-absorption. It takes a special kind of imagination to identify with a solipsist.

Madonna just doesn't glory in herself: she glories in her *self*. And *Truth or Dare* suggests a novel ambition: to make the self, even in its private moments, an object of universal attention. Who was the love of your life? someone asks her. "Sean," she murmurs, meaning her ex-husband, Sean Penn (of whom it was once said that he had slugged every photographer except Karsh of Ottawa). Sean, she explains, was madly jealous and domineering, but "at least he paid attention." Better hostile attention than none at all.

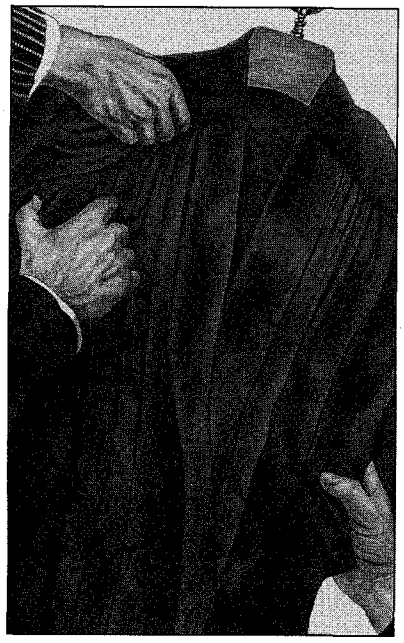
Like most pop music, Madonna's songs are about love. But love is the subject about which she shows no understanding at all. She is the perfect expression of an age that has reduced the erotic to the sensual: the gratification of the self rather than the yearning for union with another. "Lovers" become interchangeable and succeed each other quickly, each being merely instrumental to the self and its cravings. Real love is like art: it demands the subordination of the ego. Kinky, exciting, shocking: these are the attributes of love as she conceives it. It would make no sense to tell her that sodomy is at best a stunted and misdirected form of eros, since heterosexual love, as she exemplifies it, has the same character. The purpose of this love is neither permanent union nor procreation, but pleasure and ego-enhancement. For her, in fact, the erotic isn't all that different from the autoerotic, except that there happens to be another person present.

Madonna offers something new under the sun: vicarious self-absorption. It takes a special kind of imagination to identify with a solipsist.

But the word "autoerotic" is self-contradictory. Being in love with yourself isn't love. And having sex with yourself hardly qualifies as sex. The Victorians thought masturbation led to blindness. If they'd said moral blindness, they might have had a point. At least Madonna seems to intimate a connection. "Masturbation," Woody Allen has said, "is having sex with someone you love." When we watch Madonna doing "Like a Virgin," clutching her private parts (if they can be called private any more), simulating ecstatic convulsions, we're seeing her having sex, as it were, with someone she loves, all right—maybe the only one she *can* love. □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here Comes the Judge?



THE TRIALS OF CLARENCE THOMAS

Clarence Thomas has left a number of hostages in the course of his public career. But can the Left make use of them without dividing its own constituency?

WILLIAM McGURN

NOT LONG after Clarence Thomas took Robert Bork's seat on the D.C. Circuit Court, he popped by my office in the National Press Building and we headed upstairs for lunch. The conversation was largely apolitical, remarkable in that all four people at the table knew that he was on the track for the Supreme Court. Mostly he talked about his upbringing, the now-famous tales of the nuns and his grandfather, who had all insisted he make something of himself. But unlike the soft-focus Style-section profiles, Mr. Thomas emphasized that his grandfather's home in Savannah was not *The Waltons*. In fact, he stressed how much he had resented his grandfather's rules at the time and mentioned that he had been booted out of the house for violating one of them (exactly which one I now forget).

The remarks were largely in the context of his musings about his own responsibilities as a father. The gist of it was how much more he respected his grandfather today for having loved him enough to risk a teenager's dislike and misunderstanding. The judge was pretty clear on what he now expected from his own son, 18-year-old Jamal Adeen Thomas. "I've told him straight," he said. "You've had every advantage a child could have, and if I *ever* hear of you whining about how you can't make it because you are black, I will *personally* hunt you down and kick your behind from one end of America to the other."

He was smiling as he said it, no doubt enjoying the echoes of Grandpa Anderson. By no means was he heralding the abolition of prejudice in America (this is the same man, after all, who left the Immaculate Conception seminary after a fellow seminarian reacted to the shooting of Martin Luther King Jr. by saying, "Good. I hope the SOB dies"). Rather, what he was getting at was a critical distinction between claiming discrimination on the basis of a specific action and claiming it solely on the basis of membership in a particular ethnic or racial group. This distinction cuts to the heart of Thomas's writings on civil rights as well as his record as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: aggressive enforcement of laws against discrimination while resisting any attempt to substitute special preferences. In other words, it's the difference between fighting for the right of black Americans to eat at the same lunch counters as whites and fighting to introduce a new system of racial privilege based on set-asides and quotas.

Thomas's belief that judges ought to interpret the law rather than write it would be enough to explain the liberal establishment's aversion to putting him on the High Court. But what makes his nomination so contentious is not his judicial philosophy—his reference to natural law is more divisive within the conservative legal camp, which is split intellectually on the issue—but the man himself. Just as Thurgood Marshall's ascendancy to the Court provided a lodestar for an entire generation, Clarence Thomas's messages of self-help and family values, his skepticism about government-imposed quotas, and above all his reaffirmation of the validity of the American proposition threaten the hegemony of an ossified civil-rights establishment and its ruling party.

Political Hand Grenade

"CLARENCE is a hand grenade spinning around in the Democrats' living room," says one Bush Administration official. "His nomination touches all their key constituencies: Jews on quotas, Catholics on religion, blacks on civil rights. If I'm a Democratic senator, right now I have to be asking myself, 'Do I really want to pick this thing up?'"

Probably not, but there remain significant factions within the Democratic Party pushing it ever closer to the brink. In this case it's the feminists, who are setting up a confrontation between the constituents of the key Democratic issues of abortion and civil rights. True enough, the Black

Mr. McGurn is NR's Washington bureau chief.

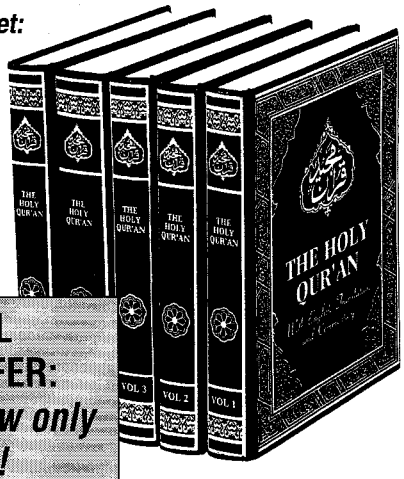
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WORLDWIDE, THIS BOOK GUIDES THE DAILY LIVES OF OVER A BILLION PEOPLE.

MOST OF US IN THE WEST HAVE NEVER EVEN SEEN ONE.

The Gulf Crisis: never was an international conflict more aptly named — for indeed there is an immense cultural gulf between the West and the Islamic East. Now there is available to English readers an authoritative translation of the book that guides the daily lives of over a billion people worldwide — ***an invaluable resource to scholars of international studies, world politics, and comparative religions.***

Complete 5-Volume set: The Holy Qur'an with Translation and Commentary
A must for any serious study of the Middle East. Contains over 3000 pages, 4900 subject entries.

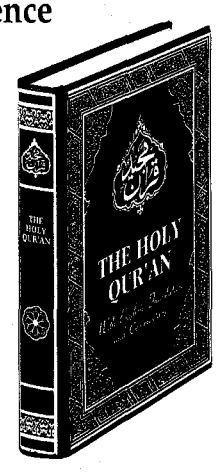


SPECIAL 60-DAY OFFER:
was $300...***now only $199.99!***

"At 3000 pages, this is the only comprehensive Qur'an in English. We misunderstand Islam today. The faith that has captured the minds, the hearts, the souls of over a billion people, now seems to us linked to world disorder. But Mohammad's message was plain: a humble submission (Islam) *to the strictly monotheistic God identified with the Jewish and Christian God, the God "nearer to man than his jugular vein...." And these five volumes are a wonder of exegesis. Included are translations of Arabic words, examination of root meanings, comprehensive commentary throughout fourteen centuries of interpretation, a full index and bibliography ....An elaborate achievement of scholarship and faith showing the heart of a religion that has lived vibrantly in a profound tradition, explained by hallowed commentary, preserved in the special repository called the Qur'an. Many, many commentaries, testimonials are woven together here, all the way from Western medical reports (on the dangers of alcohol) to understanding of Jewish law to elaborate historical lessons concerning the life and times of Muhammad.... A monument of research and reference."*

—The Book Reader, March 1991

The *Only* Complete Reference Qur'an in English



- **Translation** of Arabic words and historical & cultural roots of key words
- **Full Commentary** providing extensive and authoritative interpretation of verses
- **Index & Bibliography**
- **Cross-reference**
- **Well-researched biography of Muhammad,** the Holy Prophet of Islam*

The Holy Qur'an with Translation and Commentary
Specially published for the average reader and the college student. Index, cross-references. *Complete Scripture; commentary condensed from 5-volume edition.* **$49.99**

Also available:

The Holy Qur'an with English translation Student Edition. **$18.99**
Translations of the Holy Qur'an are available in 56 languages including French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Portuguese, Korean, Swedish, Albanian and Spanish. The original Arabic text runs in parallel columns corresponding to the translation. $31.99 each

Introduction to the Study of the Qur'an — A comparative study of other Scriptures and the Qur'an; the biography of Muhammad, the Holy Prophet of Islam, peace and blessing of Allah be upon him; history of the compilation of the Holy Qur'an, and the characteristics of its main teachings. Beautiful. Hardcover. **$19.99**

Life of Muhammad — Author: Hazrat Mirza Basheeruddin Mahmud Ahmad. Life sketch of the Holy Prophet of Islam. Hardcover **$17.99**

Murder in the Name of Allah — Hazrat Mirza Tahir Ahmad. While the primary focus is an Islamic world in conflict, the author exposes the corruption of religion used to justify terrorism, torture, assassination, genocide, and war. **$17.89**

The Philosophy of the Teachings of Islam — Hazrat Mirza Ghulam Ahmad. A clear exposition of the philosophy of Islam. Based on Quranic teachings and fully referenced, this book explains a full range of topics considered alien to Western faiths. Softcover. **$5.**

**Available in the 5-volume set.*

To Order CALL: (202) 232-3737 or FAX (202) 232-8181

Islam International Publications • Ahmadiyya Movement in Islam, Inc. • 2141 Leroy Place • Washington, D.C. 20008

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Caucus has come out against the 43-year-old nominee, as have others. But not only are they out of touch with their ostensible constituency (the Caucus voted Thomas down 24 to 1, while a *USA Today* poll showed 54 per cent of black Americans in favor of his appointment), a number of prominent civil-rights leaders such as William Coleman, Althea Simmons, and Roy Innis are on record on Thomas's behalf. Put it this way: it's not going to sit well with rank-and-file black Democrats if they see their party rejecting the second black nominated to the Supreme Court because a group of noisy, upper-middle-class white women want unrestricted access to abortions.

For opposition to the Thomas nomination to be effective, moreover, it had to be mobilized early. That's just not happening. Thus the recent decision by the NAACP in Houston not to oppose Thomas is a telling victory. The truth is that outside the Beltway the congruence between Clarence Thomas's philosophy and his personal life resonates through large parts of the black community, as witness the glowing cover story in *Jet* magazine, at 875,000 circulation the largest black weekly in the country. And anyone who follows him around as he makes his courtesy calls on the Hill can't help noticing the legions of black secretaries and working people who come out of their offices to shake his hand and offer him encouragement—many coming out of liberal offices. In short, while Thomas has lined up behind him the broad support of many church, business, social, civil-rights, legal, and law-enforcement groups, those opposing him fall into one of two camps: feminists and the pro-quota brigade.

Opposition from the Howard Metzenbaums and the Alan Cranstons should thus come as no surprise. They've opposed him before, as a matter of fact, both for the court of appeals and for the chairmanship of the EEOC. More important is where his support is coming from. Within the Republican Party, moderate Senator Jack Danforth (R., Mo.) is carrying the water for the White House on this one, while Senator Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) publicly announced he'd be proud to introduce Thomas again to the Judiciary Committee as "a fellow Georgian." Together with his conservative core, this covers nearly the whole spectrum of the Senate, with the exception of the Loony Left. Even Committee weathervane Howell Heflin (D., Ala.), who normally waits till the eleventh hour, has already announced that he expects Thomas to be confirmed.

Weighing heavily on Senate Democrats are bad memories of the Bork hearings. Although the hard Left still crows about it (NOW's Flo Kennedy has vowed "to Bork" Thomas), clearer heads in the party realize now that Bork was a Pyrrhic victory, exposing their hypocrisy. For example, how can they oppose Clarence Thomas on the basis that he is not the person best qualified for the job when they lynched the top legal mind in the country? How is a millionaire like Teddy Kennedy going to lecture a Clarence Thomas on "sensitivity"? How can they prate about "diversity" on the Court when Thomas's résumé shows experience in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Federal Government, not to mention service in state government? "If the ABA had its way," notes Tom Jipping of Coalitions for America, whose work helped push Thomas through his appeals-court confirmation hearings, "we'd have a bunch of white yuppies who'd practiced on Wall Street and had a dozen years on the federal bench."

Now, maybe Senator Kennedy from Massachusetts can afford to take the black vote for granted and go with NOW. But this is not true of certain Southern Democrats who came in with narrow margins and are up for re-election in 1992: Senators Richard Shelby (Ala.), Wyche Fowler (Ga.), Terry Sanford (N.C.), and John Breaux (La.), all of whom got less than 50 per cent of the white vote last time out. A shift of only a fraction of the black vote could easily hand these Senate seats over to Republicans. Right now a betting man would have to say Thomas can go ahead and order those new robes.

Preparing to Strike

BUT WITH so much at stake there is no room for complacency. The Empire is striking back. And because Thomas's credentials are so strong, his opponents will inevitably take the low road. Governor Douglas Wilder of Virginia was first out of the box with his suggestion that Thomas needs to be more closely examined because he is a "devout Catholic" [see sidebar]. Questions about his "blackness" have been raised by Harvard Professor Derrick Bell, while Carl Rowan said that "with a little flour on his face" you'd have David Duke. There has even been reference to his white wife, though it doesn't seem to have hurt Justice Marshall that his bride is not black, either. The same people who have opposed vouchers tooth and nail say it was nice that Thomas had the good nuns to help him, but what about the thousands

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and thousands of black children who don't have that advantage? Most of all, they accuse Clarence Thomas of forgetting the people who made his ascent possible.

The judge's record speaks for itself here. When the Franciscan nuns who had taught him found themselves with no money toward their retirement, Thomas went back to Georgia and raised $30,000 for them. And he has been generous with his pen in acknowledging his debt to those who fought to purge the nation of its Jim Crow laws. Back in 1982 he spoke to a Washington Board of Trade meeting "as a black American and a beneficiary of the civil-rights movement"; two days later he told a meeting of the Maryland NAACP that wherever blacks suffer discrimination "the NAACP must be there, just as it was there in 1926 and throughout the history of the Association." And at Yale in 1984 he said that "the most phenomenal legal brains combined in our century for the onslaught against injustice—Charles Houston, William Hastie, Thurgood Marshall." All this was years before Thomas had any inkling he'd ever be considered for the Supreme Court; it's not an ex-post-facto covering of his bases.

Grounding his vision of civil rights, however, is a traditional vision of the Constitution wherein each branch of government acts vigorously but within the sharp confines of its own sphere. It's no fluke, then, that under Thomas's chairmanship the EEOC investigated more cases and successfully prosecuted more of these cases than it did under any of Thomas's predecessors. In some conservative circles there are worries that his comments on natural law may lead to the enumeration of rights not explicitly found in the Constitution, such as the right to "privacy" in *Roe* v. *Wade*. But it is one thing to say that the Founding Fathers are incoherent without reference to natural law, quite another to say natural law ought to be the basis for judicially imposed rights, which is more or less how Thomas answered the question during the last hearings. His judicial record thus far, limited though it may be, supports his answer that he "could not envision" circumstances where he could "supplant the will of the legislature or existing precedent with my own."

This is where Thomas's legacy may be strongest, because it is here where the differences between him and Thurgood Marshall are so striking. Marshall's real reputation rests on his undeniable skill as an NAACP attorney who won 29 of 32 cases he argued before the Supreme Court, including *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. But as a Justice, he mostly followed the lead

RUM, ROMANISM, AND DOUG WILDER

WHEN Governor L. Douglas Wilder (D., Va.) raised the issue of Clarence Thomas's Catholicism ("The question is," said the governor, "how much allegiance is there to the Pope?"), he resurrected an argument last used by the Ku Klux Klan against John F. Kennedy in 1960. Within an hour of reading Wilder's remarks, Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council had fired off a telegram to Governor Wilder calling for a retraction. Mr. Bauer also sent one to Teddy Kennedy, who sits on the Senate Judiciary Committee. Bauer asked Senator Kennedy to distance himself from the idea of imposing a religious test on aspirants for public office. Whether or not the letter did the trick, that same day Senator Kennedy issued a short but pointed statement: "Judge Thomas's view on abortion is a legitimate issue. His religion is not."

Not everyone agrees. Far from putting the question beyond the pale, Wilder's Pope remarks (and particularly the mild press reaction) have encouraged other, even bolder statements. Ellen Convisser, president of the Massachusetts branch of the National Organization for Women, said the implications of Thomas's Catholicism are "very, very frightening." Feminist lawyer Florence Kennedy said, "It's bad enough to have a conservative. I mean, even if he were dumb and handsome, but he's funny-looking and he is a Catholic." Even Senator Orrin Hatch (R., Utah)—who has done yeoman work for Thomas on the Senate floor—said it was "fair" to inquire about allegiance to the Pope, provided it were done a little less crudely.

Senator Hatch aside, there is method to this madness. The Thomas nomination has put the Left in a bind. It's not only that he's black. His Horatio Alger rise from poverty helps immunize him against the kind of lecturing about "sensitivity" heaped on, say, Robert Bork. But in religion they see an opening, particularly because Thomas is said to take it seriously. "This is a way to link the Pope and natural law to the abortion issue and try to cast his judicial views in a more ominous light," says legal analyst Tom Jipping of Coalitions for America. It probably won't matter much that Thomas now in fact attends an Episcopal Church.

Ironically, Catholic groups have been slow to respond to the Wilder attack. Bill Ryan of the U.S. Catholic Conference (the bishops' lobby) said Catholics were as qualified for public office as anyone, but the organization never put out a press release. The Anti-Defamation League and the Southern Baptist Convention both condemned Governor Wilder's remarks, whereas the Knights of Columbus waited so long it never made any statement at all. What these non-Catholic groups realize is that the attacks on the judge's faith have nothing to do with his religion: it's a way of informally rewriting the Constitution. For the same reason, many do not believe the governor's remarks were really as off the cuff as they might have appeared.

"With Bork, the Left established that you could change hearings into character assassination and get away with it," says Bauer, who has just formed the Citizens Committee for the Confirmation of Clarence Thomas. "What they are trying to do is raise a religious test for office that would effectively exclude people with strong religious beliefs.

"I therefore think it was deliberate to have a Southern black governor raise this issue [of Thomas's religion] to get these Southern Democratic senators off the hook. And it would be very dangerous for us to let this pass."

—WMcG

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of liberal William Brennan. "Thurgood Marshall was a great advocate and a great symbol," says Terry Eastland, former spokesman for the Reagan Justice Department. "That can't —and shouldn't—be taken away from him. But as a jurist he did not author a single major civil-rights case. With Clarence Thomas we may get a real intellectual contribution to the course of law."

In the film *48 Hours*, Eddie Murphy walks with Nick Nolte into a redneck bar where he is outnumbered by about one hundred to one. When the crowd begins to move in on him, he pulls out a gun and a police ID. "You know what I am?" he asks. "I'm your worst nightmare—I'm a nigger with a badge." But in real life it's not a beer-swilling crowd that's getting ugly but the white-wine-and-brie set, and their nightmare is not Eddie Murphy but Clarence Thomas: a black appointee with an independent cast of mind. Thus they have raised the cry of "tokenism" for the first time in their lives. "When the liberals start to holler 'token,'" explains Thomas's fellow Georgian, Representative Newt Gingrich, "you know what they really mean is 'conservative.'" □

PROTECTING POVERTY

MISMANAGED TRADE

JAMES BOVARD

TEXTILES are America's oldest infant industry. In 1791, Alexander Hamilton cited the clothing industry as deserving a few years of government protection to get on its feet. In 1816, the cotton textile lobby helped engineer the first highly protective U.S. tariff law, with an effective tariff of 83 per cent on coarse cottons. The wool lobby was the driving force behind tariff hikes in 1824 and 1828. The 1828 tariff, which raised some wool tariffs to 150 per cent, became known as the "tariff of abominations"; it helped split the nation and plant the seeds of the Civil War. In 1936, the U.S. imposed a quota on Japanese cotton-textile imports, helping to poison U.S.–Japanese relations before World War II.

In 1957, the U.S. imposed new textile export quotas on Japan. In 1961, U.S. negotiators engineered the international Short-Term Agreement to provide temporary protection from cotton-textile imports of six nations. The Short-Term Agreement was followed in 1962 by the Long-Term Agreement, which curbed even more imports. In 1971, President Nixon threatened to penalize Japan under the World War I "Trading with the Enemy Act" if Japan did not agree to further curbs on its textile exports.

Then, in 1973-74, these tariffs were put on an agreed international basis. Leading textile exporters and importers gathered in Geneva to hammer out the Multifiber Arrangement (MFA). The preamble announced that the MFA sought "the reduction of [textile] trade barriers and the liberalization of world trade." Developing nations were enticed to sign the MFA by a clause promising them that their exports to developed countries would be allowed to increase "*at least* 6 per cent per year for those imports subject to specified limits" (italics added).

The MFA is the clearest example of a managed trade regime. Robert Kuttner, a *Business Week* columnist, declares, "The Multifiber Arrangement provides a good illustration of a reasonably successful managed trade regime." So, just how good is it in practice?

Uncompetitive

CLOTHING production requires little skill or capital; its main requirement is people who need to work. Low-wage Third World nations have a natural advantage when it comes to labor-intensive activities. The MFA was supposed to be a transitional arrangement to help richer countries phase out of an industry in which they were uncompetitive.

Instead, the MFA provided a blank check for wealthy importing nations to shackle poorer exporting nations. The MFA was extended in 1978, in 1981, and again in 1986, and each extension further emaciated the 6 per cent pledge. In 1986, under heavy U.S. pressure, Taiwan agreed to a 7 per cent reduction in its textile exports and Hong Kong to a 5 per cent reduction. In 1990, the U.S. forced Japan to reduce its textile exports to the U.S. by 25 per cent. (Japan is the only advanced nation covered by MFA quotas, and the U.S. is the only nation that imposes textile quotas on Japan.)

The MFA protects Americans only from low-priced clothing. The U.S. imposes no textile import quotas on Canada, Western Europe, or Australia. U.S. textile regulations shackle imports of cotton socks from Peru while permitting unlimited imports of Parisian designer dresses.

The U.S. is vigilant against even trace elements of imported textiles. The government decreed on April 8, 1988, that Sri Lanka could ship only one dozen men's and boy's cotton coats to the U.S. in the following seven months. Trinidad and Tobago is forced to restrict its exports even though it provides less than 0.05 per cent of the U.S. clothing supply. Mexico was allowed to ship the U.S. only 35,292 bras in 1990—not even enough to support the neighboring city of El Paso.

Any clothing or textile import from a Third World nation that amounts to 1 per cent of the U.S. market for that product is almost automatically considered threatening. Once the trip wire has been hit, members of the federal Committee for the Implementation of Textile Agreements (CITA) decide whether to issue a call to the foreign nation. CITA dresses up its ultimatums to foreign countries in diplomatic language—e.g., "The U.S. remains committed to finding a solution concerning [Costa Rican mittens]." But "finding a solution" to the mitten problem will always mean throttling the foreign supply.

Robert Kuttner observes, "It would be hard to argue that the MFA has seriously impeded enterprise, since Third World textile and apparel production are hotbeds of entrepre-

Mr. Bovard is the author of The Fair Trade Fraud, *due out in October from St. Martin's Press.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

neurship." But this brings to mind the old adage about doctors: The sun shines on their successes, while the earth hides their failures. Many Third World companies have been bankrupted by the MFA—and just because companies that survived are profitable does not prove that the system has done no harm.

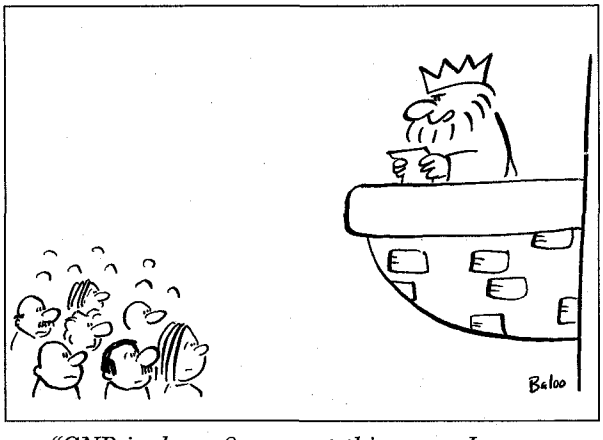
For instance, Bangladesh is one of the world's poorest nations and has received over $7 billion in foreign aid since 1980. Much of the aid was given to help Bangladesh build up its economy so that it could become self-sufficient. In the 1980s, clothing exports became that country's largest dollar earner. At this point, Western governments went into action. The U.S., Britain, France, and Canada slapped quotas on Bangladeshi exports. As the economist Dean Spinanger notes, "The immediate impact on production in Bangladesh was . . . to close down operations that had just started up." Commerce Department official Diane Solkoff shrugged off criticism, noting that the danger of being hit with quotas was "something Bangladeshis could have ascertained before they began exporting to this country." In other words, Bangladesh should not even have attempted its treacherous scheme of earning dollars by helping clothe the American people.

Thailand has been hurt repeatedly by the MFA. In the early 1980s, the Thai government signed a textile agreement with the U.S. that included group quotas. Group quotas, which restrict all a nation's exports of cotton, wool, or man-made fiber products, were rarely used in agreements at that time. Thai negotiators apparently failed to understand the concept, in part because group quotas appeared to violate MFA guidelines that authorized trade restrictions only to protect specific products, not classes of products. Thai factories exported more products in categories that were not specifically restricted than was allowed under the new group quotas. The U.S. responded by embargoing almost all Thai clothing exports, shutting down scores of clothing factories and throwing thousands of Thais out of work. This devastated the Thai economy, and the resulting discontent helped spark a violent coup attempt and bloody street fighting in Bangkok.

Our government would apparently rather provide foreign aid to a country than let it sell us clothing. In 1989, the U.S. provided $479 million in aid to the Philippines, yet allowed Philippine businesses to ship only 49,644 wool suits to the United States. The U.S. has provided over $300 million to the new Polish government, yet allowed Poland to ship only 816,327 pounds of infants' wear. The U.S. provided $40 million in aid to Haiti, yet allowed Haiti to ship only 87,600 women's wool coats. In total, these restrictions are a devastating blow to poor Third World producers.

Hitting Home

AMERICAN consumers are also skewered by these trade restrictions. William Cline of the Institute for International Economics estimates the combined consumer costs of tariffs and MFA quotas to be as much as $40 billion at the retail level. Cline's estimate works out to a hidden tax of almost $500 a year for every American family.



"GNP is down 8 per cent this year—I am so ashamed of you people!"

The MFA hits poor families far harder than rich families. According to a Consumer Expenditure Survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, households with the lowest 20 per cent of incomes spend almost four times the percentage of their income on clothing that households in the highest 20 per cent do (15.1 per cent versus 3.8 per cent). The United States Association of Importers of Textiles estimates that textile and apparel protection costs the poor 8.8 per cent of their disposable income.

Yet these quotas have not turned American textile and clothing workers into millionaires. According to a study by the London-based Trade Policy Research Centre, quotas could be costing American consumers over a hundred dollars for each dollar of extra income provided to textile and clothing workers. In a 1990 study of quotas published in the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas *Economic Review*, the economist Linda Hunter concluded, "For each job created in textiles and apparel, a job was lost in some other sector." Most textile and apparel workers are relatively unskilled, and Thomas Grennes, a professor at North Carolina State University, notes, "Employees in textile and apparel have been among the lowest paid U.S. workers, and earnings have fallen over time relative to all manufacturing employees."

However, that still makes U.S. wages in this field routinely five, ten, or fifteen times higher than foreign wages. Since textile and clothing manufacturing tends to be labor intensive, the huge wage differential means that foreign companies will almost always have a cost advantage, even though American workers might produce more per hour than foreign workers. (Some American clothing makers have established a niche for themselves in the U.S. market, but they could probably compete even without import quotas.)

American politicians routinely sanctify MFA restrictions with the name of fair trade. But, in reality, the MFA has nothing to do with fair trade. In a 1988 textile-bill debate, Senator Phil Gramm proposed an amendment to exempt from quotas countries that are less protectionist than the United States. Hong Kong, the United States's leading supplier of clothing, is widely recognized as the world's most open market, and Hong Kong provides no subsidies to any industry. Gramm's amendment would have rewarded Hong Kong for its fair play. Not surprisingly, it was overwhelmingly defeated.

Losers All Around

IN May 1990, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Commerce Auggie Tantillo, discussing U.S. proposals for reforming the MFA, told a group of Carolina textile producers, "We would inject some market liberal-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

izing features into the new arrangement such as . . . dropping categories that no longer warrant protection, i.e., those that are no longer made in this country." So the Commerce Department's idea of trade liberalization is to stop protecting a product after it is no longer produced in the United States.

The Federal Government cannot manage trade without hurting American consumers, bushwhacking foreign nations, and making a mockery of economic common sense. Contrary to politicians' warnings, we have no compelling national interest to achieve self-sufficiency in cotton mittens. □

WILDLIFE PROTECTION

THE ELEPHANT'S BEST FRIEND

STEPHEN M. WEAVER

IN MAY 1985 I was in Botswana, flying north from the small bush community of Maun. The view from the Cessna 182 was of stark, Saharaesque scrub and sand with little sign of life. Soon a sharp, dark green line took shape on the horizon. What I was seeing was the effect of the livestock fence separating the Okavango area from the intensively grazed cattle lands of the south. I was viewing what has to be one of the most graphic illustrations of different sorts of habitat management anywhere: on one side, exploitation of the land for a type of livestock unsuited to it; on the other, flourishing native bush with a biota probably unsurpassed since Eden. That fence was held in place by the economic factor of sport hunting.

This illustrates a conservation concept which, though it has been applied very successfully, has scarcely been heard of in the outside world. The problem is that it was devised in Rhodesia and South Africa. Rhodesia is no more, and the idea that any good could come out of South Africa is only beginning to become speakable in polite society. The concept is the large-scale privatization of wildlife.

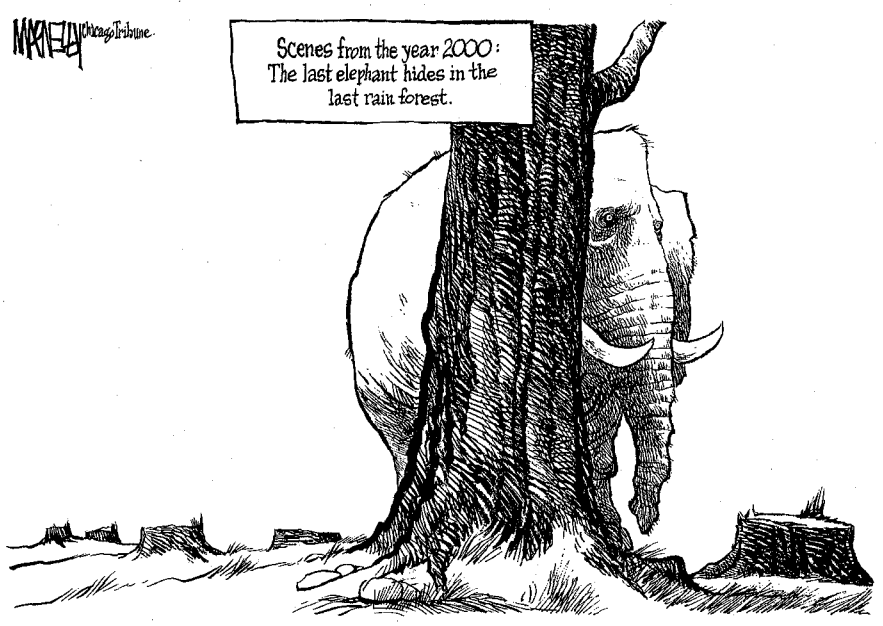
Privatization is based on a two-part premise: that native wildlife species do better than introduced exotics such as cattle and sheep; and that wildlife is a commodity. Accepting the latter premise requires some adjustment for the North American mind. Our collective conscience is still troubled with visions of the bison, hunted to near extinction. Yet in the South African program is the salvation of Africa's threatened wildlife.

The net effect of privatization, known commonly as game ranching, has been a sharp increase in the number of wild animals and a visible transformation of the countryside. Game ranching has three components: trophy sport hunting, the red meat or *biltong* trade, and tourism. Despite the tremendous draw of world-class National Parks such as Kruger, the private potential is still greater. It is estimated that the visiting hunter will spend at least 14 times the money the wildlife observer spends—according to recent data, an average daily expenditure of $52 by wildlife observers, who stay about three days, compared to the $725 to $1,500 per day spent by hunters, who stay an average of 11 days. Yes, the hunters generally do kill something, but how many observers must be run through the same piece of habitat to equal the hunters' revenue, and what do they demand in the way of amenities? The hunter generally prefers a more natural appearance, which means less impact on the habitat.

This has created a powerful incentive for optimum wildlife management. It has resulted in the annual transformation of tens of thousands of acres of agricultural holdings back into native wildlife habitat. Species which will never be hunted, for sport or for meat, are enjoying a tremendous piggyback benefit. Habitats that are optimal for a trophy bull kudu also support the badger-like ratel, the baboon, the Cape turtle dove, and numerous other species. Herein lies hope for the rest of the world.

Prospering Rhinos

IN APRIL 1989 I traveled the length and breadth of the Republic of South Africa visiting with game ranchers, wildlife biologists, and environmental groups. Without exception I found enthusiasm for the privatized wildlife system. As University of Cape Town wildlife researcher Rob Little put it: "Let the species become of value rather than drawing [subsi-



Mr. Weaver is currently studying herbivore/habitat relationships in South Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dized] funds out of society. In that way wildlife will automatically prosper." In South Africa the individual rancher owns and manages the animals. The white rhinoceros is well and thriving in South Africa, while only tenuously holding on in the rest of the continent. The reason is value. Upward of $15,000 per head is a powerful incentive to raise rhino.

An interesting alliance occurs in South Africa between what would be opposing forces in the United States. The Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT) is "dedicated to preserving the diversity of life on the planet earth," a statement of faith which would probably be endorsed by any of the preservationist-oriented "greens" in North America. In the South African context, however, this group works closely with the private sector rather than agitating for restrictive legislation against it. Among its major credits is a benchmark project with the University of Pretoria to establish the status of the cheetah. In the words of EWT director John Ledger: "We support the concept of trophy hunting as a legitimate form of wildlife utilization. The wildlife resources of the African continent are the heritage of the people who live here, their key to progress and prosperity. The only way that this wildlife resource can yield the maximum return . . . is to allow it to be traded as a commodity."

South Africa's National Parks, including the massive Kruger, are operated on a quasi-privatized basis. Whereas the elephant is in serious trouble in most of Africa, herds have been growing by about 5 per cent a year in South Africa. The problem is that elephants require a phenomenal amount of forage. Overstocking can quickly turn prime habitats into something like the aftermath of B-52 saturation bombing. A certain number of elephants are therefore "culled": the occasionally controversial, but biologically necessary, removal of excess animals. Culling is not merely a negative solution, however. By killing selected older animals and utilizing their meat and ivory, the park earns money to fund its programs. Young animals, meanwhile, can be sent to other parks in the country that are short of elephants.

Kruger's Chief Ranger Bruce Bryden explained that the original intention was to sell young animals to the vast private holdings once the parks were fully stocked. But this plan may be blocked by the ivory sanctions imposed by CITES (Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species), which have drastically reduced the elephants' market value. Unless a way is found around the U.S.-endorsed CITES ban, the South African herd will probably stay near its current numbers, primarily in Kruger Park, instead of expanding extensively into the private sector as the rest of South Africa's indigenous species have already done.

Well intentioned but ignorant bans on the use of wildlife help no one but black-marketeers. Nor is this the problem solely of indigent Africa. The U.S. is top-heavy with nineteenth-century legislation designed to rescue an endangered wildlife resource of that time. Such laws as the Lacy Act, which prohibits interstate trade in wildlife, would need to be overhauled to stimulate game ranching in the U.S.—a formidable legislative task. In a series of articles under the title of "A Price on Their Heads" a couple of years ago, the *Albuquerque Tribune* loudly decried the accelerating black market in wildlife parts and products in the United States. Then it editorially called for additional state controls over fee-hunting on private lands, an expansion of federal wilderness areas, and additional wildlife revenues to be raised through new taxes. This is a cure guaranteed to kill.

I see no conflict between American conservation ethics and the South African model. If, as in South Africa, it results in increased wildlife habitat and increased wildlife numbers and diversity, and at the same time removes the perceived need for statist interventions, then what is there left for the "greens" to rail against? □

WORLD IN CONFLICT

AN ATTACK OF PACTITIS

BRIAN CROZIER

ALERT READERS will have spotted that this occasional column has changed its name. In deference to the prevailing view that the cold war has been won by the West, "The Protracted Conflict" has yielded to "World in Conflict." If anything, the note of pessimism has deepened.

The aftermath of the Gulf War has done nothing to lighten the mood. The overthrow of a tyrant usually tempts the victors to have a go at remaking the international order. The trouble starts when the tyrant isn't quite overthrown. Metternich's glittering Congress of Vienna illustrates the problem. Napoleon was assumed to be out of action, since he had abdicated and been banished to Elba; then he went and spoilt it all by returning. Only after Waterloo and banishment to St. Helena could the Congressees get on with the job of creating or recreating kingdoms all over Europe.

The job should have been easier after the overthrow of our century's two German tyrants. Kaiser William II had lost control of his army, and was unlikely to try a Napoleon after fleeing to Holland. So the Allies could get on with their ill conceived treaties (Versailles and the rest, not forgetting the Treaty of Sèvres, which in stages created modern Iraq out of British-mandated Mesopotamia).

In *Peacemaking 1919*, Harold Nicolson (better known these days for the lesbianism of his wife, Victoria Sackville-West) referred to the "ghastly hypocrisy of the Paris treaties"; and there is no doubt that they contributed to the rise of the next tyrant, Adolf Hitler. In 1945, the Nazi leader did the world a favor by committing suicide; but peacemaking was sabotaged by the West's alliance with Communism's tyrant, Stalin. The Paris peace treaties of 1947 did nothing to prevent the satellization of Eastern Europe.

And today? If anything, the mess is

Mr. Crozier, an NR *Contributing Editor, is the author of* The Gorbachev Phenomenon.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

messier than ever. A minor tyrant, Saddam Hussein, was crushingly defeated on the periphery, yet left in power at the center: a profound error of presidential judgment. Whether it can be rectified by the bombing of Iraq's nuclear capability and the creation of a permanent intervention force to protect the ill treated Kurds remains to be seen.

Parasitic Co-Existence

A BIGGER PROBLEM by far is the future of the USSR and the fate of Stalin's lineal descendant, Mikhail Gorbachev. To have wheedled an invitation to the Group of Seven's summit in London was no mean feat, even if his immediate monetary expectations were disappointed.

For a fuller and clearer picture, however, one has to look at the ominous achievements of Gorby's quiet diplomacy. Of its two guiding principles, one has been stated officially, *ad nauseam*; the other was named by outside critics, including this writer. The official one is the concept of a "common European home"; the unofficial one is "parasitic co-existence." They complement each other neatly.

Both were furthered by five bi-lateral treaties concluded by the Soviets last fall—two with united Germany, one with France, one with Italy, and one with Spain. The first Soviet–German treaty deals with economic, scientific, and technological matters and binds both parties to "promote the . . . infrastructure of pan-European cooperation"; the second potentially weakens Germany's commitment to NATO by declaring (under Article 3) that neither side will support the aggressor should armed conflict take place. Strictly speaking, this does not contradict the North Atlantic Treaty; but much could depend on the definition of "aggressor."

The French, in their treaty, met Gorbachev more than halfway by calling for efforts to "turn Europe into a common home and create a European confederation." This treaty also calls for regular meetings of the Soviet and French general staffs.

Vaclav Havel has powerfully warned his fellow Europeans of the meaning of such efforts: namely, to supplant Western Europe's Atlantic ties with Soviet ones. Much to President Mitterrand's embarrassment, Havel spelled out his position at a conference in Prague sponsored jointly by the French and the Czechoslovakians. "It seems to me that the link uniting Europe and the North American continent in security matters is and will remain inevitable, logical, and legitimate. . . . I believe that any move leading toward the European confederation must not be conceived or understood as an attempt to separate two continents whose civilizations are closely interlinked."

Both the German and the French treaties commit the signatories to respecting the "inviolability" of existing frontiers. Thus, the Baltic Republics need not look to France or Germany for support in their (legitimate) claims to independence; nor, for that matter, need independent Georgia and "sovereign" Russia and the Ukraine.

A Treaty of Friendship with Italy calls on both sides to "promote the development and deepening of relations between the Soviet Union and the European Community." It matches the French treaty in calling for periodical exchanges, at high levels, of opinions and information on military doctrines.

These treaties are complemented by a Soviet–Spanish joint declaration which both mentions the concept of "a Common European Home" and calls for the "creation of a new European architecture."

All this, while the Soviet military still absorbs up to 30 per cent of a collapsing economy? With the KGB still intact? The Soviet Union is still run by a party whose only legitimacy derives from an economic and social doctrine now exposed as nonsensical but not yet repudiated by the man who came, cap in hand, to the London summit.

One of the permanent obstacles to sensible foreign policies is the collective unwisdom of the professionals of foreign policy. The professionals like the status quo. They like to deal with those they have been dealing with. Pactitis ("any agreement is better than none") reigns.

Some agreements are indeed better than none, but not all. NATO was one. The European Community? I have my doubts. Real history, revving up right now, is moving away from federalism. Doubters need only look in the direction not only of the disunited Soviet Union but, on a smaller scale, of fragmenting Yugoslavia.

By trying so hard to preserve "stability" and the status quo, the foreign-policy experts and their bosses, our elected leaders, are getting in the way of a *status quo post* that might have prospects for real stability—one in which the United States and the European democracies would look to their own interests instead of those of their enemy. □

SHOCK TREATMENT

SAFELY EXECUTED

CHRISTIE DAVIES

IN NOVEMBER 1974, bombs exploded in two pubs in Birmingham, England, killing 21 and injuring 162. Six Irishmen were arrested, convicted for murder, and sentenced to life imprisonment. This March, after the longest criminal appeal in British history, their convictions were overturned.

One side-effect of this successful appeal has been to make it impossible for capital punishment to be reintroduced in Britain. It may also affect the American debate on retaining the death penalty. Among the Western democracies, America is now the odd one out, for no one else executes.

Regarding the Birmingham Six, the opponents of capital punishment are smugly saying that had the death penalty not been abolished in 1964, innocent men would have been hanged. Given that our systems of criminal justice are of necessity fallible, this seems to be an irrefutable argument

Mr. Davies is Professor of Sociology at the University of Reading and co-author of Wrongful Imprisonment: A Study of Mistaken Convictions and Their Consequences.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

against capital punishment. Mistaken convictions do occur, and pardons for the dead are of little consolation.

However, although difficult, it is by no means impossible to design a test that will meet the triple requirements of infallibility, retribution, and deterrence that are necessary for a just and effective system of capital punishment. In order to do so, it is first necessary to reverse the curious blurring of the notions of retribution and deterrence that has occurred.

Some econometricians claim that each execution saves several lives as other would-be murderers are deterred. But anyone who is not a statistician—judges, say—will want to feel that the murderer *deserves* to be executed rather than that he is merely producing a useful deterrent effect on the gallows. When there is a direct link between the fate of a particular hapless victim whose life has been snuffed out and the convicted villain in the dock, the judiciary have been all in favor of execution. They found it much more difficult to justify sentencing someone to death in the interests of a group of unknown "statistical persons." Capital punishment has to be based on retribution *as well as* deterrence. It must be seen as a just penalty for a horrid crime as well as being a demonstrably effective means of protecting potential victims.

While thinking about this problem, my mind was mightily concentrated by the coincidence that I gave lifts in the course of one week to two hitchhikers who had just been released from the penitentiary. While driving through Britain's equivalent of Silicon Valley, I gave a lift to a small, sad, shabby, middle-aged artisan who was traveling in search of work. He had, he explained, just come out of jail, and this prejudiced employers against him despite his being a skilled worker with a trade.

"What were you in for?" I asked.

"Murder," came the reply.

When I later told my family about this, they were horrified at the risk they thought I had taken, but in fact the meek little man was very unlikely ever to be violent again, unless he were to remarry and once more find his spouse in bed with a neighbor.

In retrospect I am much more fearful of the Scotsman to whom in the following week I gave a lift down the freeway that runs westward from London to the furnaces and foundries of Wales. He had never committed murder, but he had a long history of violent offenses—including assaults on prison guards—which stopped just short of killing his victims. He told me all this without a trace of remorse, while taking swigs from a hip flask, which confirmed all my Welsh ancestral prejudices in favor of total abstinence. I remembered an observation made by a criminologist colleague that repeatedly violent non-murderers are far more of a threat to the public than the one-time murderer who has suddenly exploded under stress.

Justice Served

IT WOULD not be unjust to execute someone with a long string of separate convictions for serious violent offenses stopping just short of murder—such as armed robbery, forcible rape, or inflicting grievous bodily harm—but it would be unwise, for it would encourage him to finish off his victims to silence potential witnesses. However, there can be no such objection to executing such a person if he does finally commit murder. Also, the chance of a *totally* innocent person being wrongly convicted of violent offenses on several separate occasions would be very close to zero. Executing such a person for murder would serve the purpose of deterring others, and it would also satisfy the requirement of just retribution—in this case, not for a single homicidal crime but for a lifetime's thuggery. A law to the effect that murderers with a long string of previous convictions for acts of heinous violence (and only those with such convictions) should be executed ought to satisfy both the inchoate British sense of fairness and the strict rules laid down by the U.S. Supreme Court.

Such executions would, though, only be effective if citizens are willing to support capital punishment as enthusiastically in the case of particular individual criminals as they are in the abstract when pestered by an opinion pollster. When faced with a politicized uproar calling for the reprieve rather than the execution of a popular local villain, they would have to be willing to become a vociferous majority reveling in the assertion of just retribution and thus getting the message of deterrence home to the members of the criminal classes. □

Speak German like a Diplomat!®

What sort of people need to learn a foreign language as quickly and effectively as possible? *Foreign service personnel,* that's who.

Now you can learn to speak German with the same materials used by the U.S. State Department—the Foreign Service Institute's *Programmed Introduction to German.*

The FSI spent thousands of dollars and many years developing these materials for use by members of the United States diplomatic corps. Today people in all walks of life who need to learn to speak a foreign language are turning to this outstanding audio program.

The FSI's German Course is by far *the most effective way* to learn German at your own convenience and pace. It consists of a series of cassettes, recorded by native German speakers, and accompanying textbook. You simply follow the spoken and written instructions, listening and learning. By the end of the course you'll find yourself learning and speaking entirely in German!

This course turns your cassette player into a "teaching machine." With its unique "programmed" learning method, you set your own pace—testing yourself, correcting errors, reinforcing accurate responses.

AUDIO-FORUM
THE LANGUAGE SOURCE

This FSI Programmed Course comes in two volumes, each shipped in a handsome library binder. Order either, or save 10% by ordering both:

☐ **Volume I. Programmed Introduction to German,** 10 cassettes (13 hr.), and 647-p. text, $175.

☐ **Volume II. Basic Course Continued,** 8 cassettes, (8 hr.), and 179-p. text, $145.

(CT residents add sales tax.)

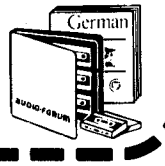
TO ORDER BY PHONE, PLEASE CALL TOLL-FREE NUMBER: **1-800-243-1234**

To order by mail, clip this ad and send with your name and address, and a check or money order—or charge to your credit card (VISA, MasterCard, AmEx, Diners) by enclosing card number, expiration date, and your signature.

The Foreign Service Institute's German Course is unconditionally guaranteed. Try it for three weeks. If you're not convinced it's the fastest, easiest, most painless way to learn German, return it and we'll refund every penny you paid. Order today!

198 courses in 62 other languages also available. Write us for free catalog. Our 19th year.

Audio-Forum
Room E814
96 Broad St.
Guilford, CT 06437
(203) 453-9794



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tricking Dick

HERBERT S. PARMET

RICHARD NIXON's resignation on August 9, 1974, came barely two weeks after the House Judiciary Committee had voted articles of impeachment, and ended a national drama that had begun two years before when the five "plumbers" broke into Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at Washington's Watergate complex. While not charging the President with planning the break-in, the articles held him responsible for obstructing justice, failing to protect the Constitution, and withholding subpoenaed papers from Congress. After two years of investigations, accompanied by the grating play-by-play of Woodward and Bernstein, and with an approval rating below 30 per cent and, after the release of the "smoking gun" tape (in which Nixon agreed to order the CIA to persuade the FBI to desist in its Watergate investigation), no more than a dozen senators supporting him, Nixon saw no light at the end of his legal tunnel.

Despite the terms of the impeachment, it is generally assumed that Nixon was the evil genius behind the "White House horrors," and his later acceptance of a pardon is taken as confirmation of Total Guilt, something anticipated by most liberals since the beginning of Nixon's career.

Silent Coup: The Removal of a President, by Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin (St. Martin's Press, 489 pp., $24.95)

Thus it was that St. Martin's Press, sensing contrarian gold, rushed out 300,000 copies of *Silent Coup: The Removal of a President* by reporters Len Colodny and Robert Gettlin. Theirs is an explosive contention: Nixon's resignation was manipulated by two of his aides, Alexander Haig and John Dean, in part to shield their own covert activities from the scrutiny of Watergate investigators. As if that weren't earth-shaking enough, the authors attack one of the media's icons, Bob Woodward, claiming that the *Washington Post* reporter plotted with Haig (Woodward's former Pentagon boss and, of course, "Deep Throat") to bring Nixon down.

Nixon biographer Roger Morris, who contributed a foreword to *Silent Coup*, acknowledged its heavy use of circumstantial evidence, but argued "that an exhaustive array of circumstance . . . is in itself definitive history." Mr. Morris, also the author of books on Haig and Henry Kissinger, hailed the work as "a finely wrought and thoroughly realistic portrait."

Within days of publication, St. Martin's CEO Thomas McCormack held a press conference to charge media capitulation to pressure from Dean and the *Post*. He reacted strongly when the *New York Times Book Review* carried an assessment of *Silent Coup* by Stephen E. Ambrose, and repeated Colodny's claim that Ambrose, with the third (Watergate) volume of his own Nixon biography already slated for fall publication, had threatened to "break" *Silent Coup* when the authors refused to share their research findings with him. In his review, Mr. Ambrose dismissed *Silent Coup* as a piece of breathless prose based on unsubstantiated sources and written by men with "stunning ignorance of how the Government under Mr. Nixon operated."

The *Times* has since issued a stunning *mea culpa*. Had the editors known Mr. Ambrose had pressured *Silent Coup*'s authors for information, "the book would have been assigned to a different reviewer." The *Washington Post*, meanwhile, ran an article by Charles Krauthammer on the current infatuation with conspiracy theories that characterized *Silent Coup* as an attempt to prove Nixon's innocence.

In a telephone interview with me, Watergate "conspirator" G. Gordon Liddy said he could find no important errors in the Colodny–Gettlin account, and supplied additional details that corroborate some of the book's findings. Mr. Liddy also claimed that Gemstone—the plan funded by the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CRP, or, if you like, CREEP) that led to the break-in and is usually associated with Liddy's name—was "a total Dean operation." Dean in turn has threatened to sue Liddy, who has countered by challenging him to go right ahead.

General Haig is at work on a book of his own in which, presumably, he will answer his accusers, and Richard Nixon has kept to his policy of "no comment" concerning books written about him.

It is easy to understand, then, why *Silent Coup*, now enjoying a run on the best-seller lists, must be approached warily. Few readers are prepared to thoroughly assess the book's claims, and the publisher presents obstacles even for those who are. Despite the gravity of the charges, documentation (albeit largely impressive and consisting of some 250 interviews as well as previously unseen government documents, audio tapes, transcripts, and even polygraphs) is buried in a mire of ambiguous endnotes. An important exception is the previously classified transcript of a 1971 interview in John Ehrlichman's office with Admiral Robert O. Welander. The transcript, which appears in the appendix, establishes a key premise of *Silent Coup*'s argument.

One certain, possibly inadvertent, achievement of this reconstruction of the Watergate affair is the demonstration of how visceral distrust of Richard Nixon deluded analysts into simplistic assumptions about his management of the affair. Nixon is usually described as the "hands on" President eager for centralized control, his Presidency as a plot to devolve all federal power to the Executive Branch.

Jim Hougan, in a 1984 book, *Secret*

Mr. Parmet is Distinguished Professor of History at the City University of New York. Among his seven books is Richard Nixon and His Family.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

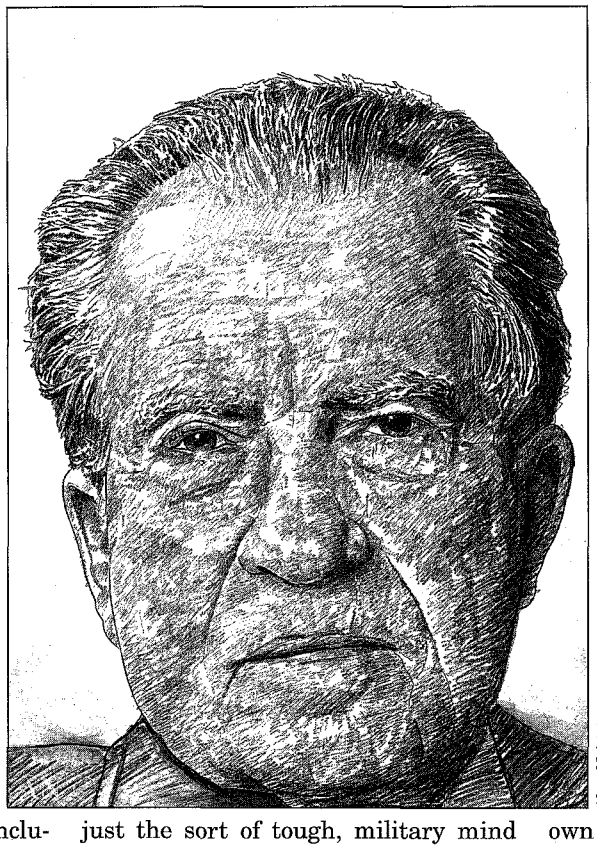
Agenda: Deep Throat and the CIA, to which Colodny and Gettlin are heavily indebted, noted that Nixon's enemies "wished to make a morality play of the affair" by insisting on the centrality of the President's own villainy. Nixon lived on as the "devil incarnate," and it was delightful to keep it that way. Nixon-haters, Mr. Hougan observed, were "as much opponents of a full investigation . . . as was the White House itself. Both sides had reason to fear the truth." Colodny and Gettlin have broken out of that pattern, and their conclusions bring us as close to what actually happened as we are likely to get for some time. The whole story is almost certainly more unsettling than we imagined.

But what about the stunning accusation implied by the book's title? Was there a *coup d'état*, silent or otherwise? The authors assert that General Haig, first as military aide to Henry Kissinger and then (after the resignations of Haldeman and Ehrlichman) as Nixon's chief of staff, "infiltrated" the National Security Council (NSC) on behalf of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS), and, finding in Nixon's foreign policy (détente with the Soviet Union, the opening to China) reasons to manipulate the President's removal (and incidentally to prevent discovery of earlier JCS penetration of the NSC), began feeding damaging material to Woodward and the *Washington Post*.

One recalls that after his 1977 interviews with the fallen President, David Frost noted that Nixon always stopped short of blaming the intelligence community for Watergate, but that "the invitation for others to draw [such a] . . . conclusion about the CIA acting in self-defense was already there." From the beginning there were suspicions about the CIA (the Agency is an easy fall guy in *any* Washington scandal), and such paranoia (according to Colodny and Gettlin, Nixon believed "the CIA had contributed to his loss in the 1960 election") has been encouraged by some Nixon Administration officials. But here, as in most earlier accounts, the Agency stands absolved. Mostly.

Few, however, have appreciated Nixon's need for caution about the military. The authors recall his sensitivity about Pentagon opposition to arms-control agreements with the Soviets, and note that he was quite aware of dissent at the JCS. All true. But however much Haig and the Pentagon may have wished to undermine certain policies, or may have felt that national security depended upon restraining the Nixon–Kissinger program of détente, there is no evidence that anyone envisioned a junta-like overthrow; for that matter that anyone at the JCS even wanted Nixon to resign. These facts render the book's title hyperbolic.

Henry Kissinger is portrayed as an outsider—to the military in general, and to the JCS in particular. Haig filled the vacuum. "Nixon liked Haig," the authors write, "because Haig had just the sort of tough, military mind that Kissinger lacked." He even tempered Kissinger's power.



Alan Nahigian

That Haig was the principal source of the composite "Deep Throat" in *All the President's Men* is not a new assertion. When asked whether Haig had a conflict of interest in taking over after the Haldeman–Ehrlichman firings, Leonard Garment said, "Conflict of interest, capital C, capital O, capital I." Sam Dash, chief counsel of the Ervin Committee, believed that Haig was "probably the most culpable and dangerous person in the Watergate affair." His first loyalty, the authors contend, was to the Joint Chiefs. Well, perhaps to himself.

When the authors asked Bob Woodward whether, as a naval communications officer assigned to Pentagon duty, he had ever briefed General Haig, Woodward denied it. Subsequent interviews (with, among others, former NSC staffer and future Nixon biographer Roger Morris, and Nixon's Defense Secretary and current *Reader's Digest* counsel Melvin Laird) pretty clearly establish the Woodward–Haig Pentagon link. Why would Woodward deny it?

Almost as compelling is their view of John Mitchell, Nixon's campaign manager and Attorney General, whose cooperation with the authors and endorsement of their findings (shortly before his death in 1988) was obviously prompted by his desire to clear his name with the President, who assumed that Mitchell had approved of the break-in at the DNC, a principal reason why Nixon eventually eased him out of the Administration. This assumption was orchestrated by John Dean, who lied to Nixon when he said that it was Mitchell's "advice" that the CIA interfere with the FBI's Watergate inquiry, and that Mitchell had approved the payment of hush money. "Once again," Colodny and Gettlin write, Nixon "was reacting to a crisis without gathering the facts," thereby willingly slipping "the noose Dean had handed him around his own neck."

The plots thicken. John Dean —according to *Silent Coup*, the real mastermind behind the break-in—threw up smokescreens in order to obscure his own activities. Dean, the White House golden boy, was, in the words of Stanley Kutler, a "WASP Sammy Glick," who had already been bounced from a Washington law firm for "unethical conduct." He had a taste for fineries, especially power, and nothing matched the pleasure of controlling intelligence operations.

Much of *Silent Coup* rests on material that has surfaced in the years since Watergate. J. Anthony Lukas and others have left no doubt about the ubiquity of the CIA in the Watergate affair (although, again, there is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

no evidence that the Company acted to effect the President's removal): there were break-in schemes and wiretaps —even of the White House itself. But the Colodny–Gettlin analysis takes the foundation of Hougan's *Secret Agenda* and builds upon it. Their diligent work has yielded additional witnesses and documentation, most notably the expansion of information about the JCS spying at the NSC that first came to light as early as 1974.

New in this book, and constituting a key piece of evidence, is the first appearance of the Ehrlichman interview with Welander, then a top assistant to JCS Chairman Admiral Thomas Moorer. In it Admiral Welander describes how naval yeoman Charles Radford was engaged in spying on the NSC and Henry Kissinger. Even more striking is the testimony from Moorer and Welander that Haig knew what Radford was doing.

There are, of course, grey areas. That's the trouble with circumstantial evidence. For example, when the authors suggest that Haig intentionally released the tape with the 18½-minute gap just after the Saturday Night Massacre because it would be especially embarrassing to the President, they take the liberty of inferring that he also had a hand in *creating* the gap. "How could Deep Throat have known" about the blank section? they ask. And then they speculate: "Someone could have told him, he could have listened to the tapes and deduced it—or he could have made the erasures himself." They conclude that a "deliberate erasure had not been made to protect the President, but to embarrass him," which would certainly be the case if it was done deliberately, but they do not know that it was. At times the authors seem caught up in the spirit of the conspiracy they're unraveling. Still, to one familiar with much of the evidence, their account stands up well.

Whether any of this comes as a surprise to Mr. Nixon, we cannot know. There is heavy irony in Alexander Haig's subsequent promotions (as NATO commander, for instance), since they came via the endorsement of Richard Nixon.

Ironic also is the Colodny–Gettlin portrait of Nixon as President. He is usually portrayed as paranoid, whereas the Nixon of *Silent Coup* is a victim of misplaced trust. Reliance on assumed loyalists limited his decision-making options, and he appears to have been less delusionary about his enemies than about his friends. That Haig and Dean so well succeeded in their unrelated and destructive activities belies the Nixon reputation for running a tight ship. Like the mythic JFK during the Cuban Missile Crisis, Nixon's grasp of events was anything but sure, a conclusion that will outrage those for whom it is a matter of faith that Nixon was the author of all things diabolical.

And so, of what may we now be certain? Colodny and Gettlin have, beyond a reasonable doubt, established that Haig, at the very least, operated within a conflict of interest between his loyalties to the JCS and the Administration; that Dean's control over White House intelligence operations went well beyond what has been previously recognized; and that Nixon's ability to ease past the Watergate scandals was crippled from within his own circle. □

Air Time

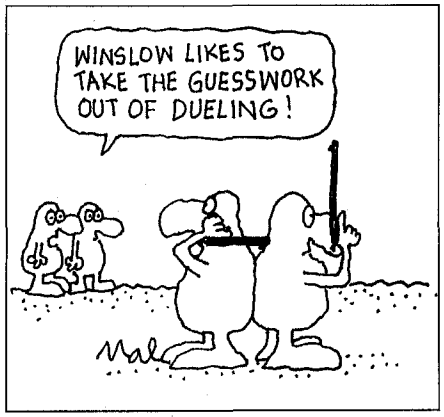
DAVID BRUDNOY

Out of Thin Air, by Reuven Frank (Simon & Schuster, 417 pp., $24.95)

Fighting for Air, by Liz Trotta (Simon & Schuster, 377 pp., $19.95)

"TELEVISION," writes Reuven Frank in his I've-seen-and-done-most-of-it reminiscence, "is best as a narrative medium, worst as an expository medium." He thereby dismisses with superb accuracy the reflexive capsule description of TV as a "visual medium": "a phrase repeated as though it had meaning. Print is no less a visual medium; eyes read it."

So simple, so true, so rarely enunciated. We in the business and, happily for publishers, hordes of laymen as well, have almost from the first been suckers for a constant barrage of inside-TV books—résumés, histories, exposés, hagiolatries, biographies, tendentious grudge-settlings. TV's omnipresence, its near-magical intrusiveness, and its even more nearly magical informative potential, have made it almost as talked *about* as talkative, as inclined to inspire encomia among its worshippers as in its sillier moments it is inclined to worship.



© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.

Reuven Frank was twice president of NBC (1968–1972, 1982–1984) and in between, before, and after those tenures held a couple handsful of other NBC jobs. Liz Trotta was a longtime NBC and short-time CBS reporter of consummate skill but of the wrong color and texture of hair—TV's tint is blond, not Italo-American brunette. In these books they tell tales that dovetail, sometimes overlap, never significantly diverge, and in tandem provide, as well as we're likely to get this year, a solid reckoning of how TV news got to where it is—limbo, if you're into the spirit of TV-talk one-word catch-phrases—and where it's heading—down that slippery slide to some twilight zone 'twixt its *amour propre* status of supreme relevance and its reality of show-biz with furrowed brow. (Speaking of which, NBC early on hid its jealousy of The Master, Himself, by intoning: *Nobody's brow furrows / Like Edward R. Murrow's*. Jesse Jackson, behold!)

Mr. Frank, the man who brought Chet Huntley and David Brinkley together, was known at NBC (we learn from Liz Trotta but not from Reuven Frank) as White Fang. Miss Trotta calls him talmudic and wise, a respected and decent man; he barely mentions her, though John Chancel-

Mr. Brudnoy, an adjunct professor at Boston University's College of Communication, has been a TV commentator since 1971 and a radio talk host since 1975.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The King Of Laughter!

Red Skelton

A Rare Video Release

His All-Time Funniest Comedy Bits ... Sketches ... Jokes ... Ad-Libs ... Plus Uncensored TV Rehearsal Footage ... Outrageous Bloopers ... All His Famous Characters ... and Much More!

RED SKELTON
KING of LAUGHTER
A DOCUMENTARY OF FUN-FILLED ROUTINES, JOKES AND AD-LIBS
PLUS HIS FAMOUS CHARACTERS INCLUDING
CLEM KADIDDLEHOPPER, DEADEYE, WILLIE LUMP LUMP, ETC. AND...UNCENSORED TV REHEARSAL FOOTAGE, OUTRAGEOUS BLOOPERS AND MUCH MORE!

An Exclusive Video Cassette

From a hit in vaudeville... a star in the movies ... to award-winning TV comedian, Red Skelton is one of the greatest funnymen of all time. And in this one-hour laugh-filled tape you'll see Red Skelton and all his zany characters ... **CLEM KADIDDLEHOPPER ... WILLIE LUMP LUMP ... DEADEYE ... CAULIFLOWER McPUGG ...** plus fabulous guest stars **JACK BENNY ... ED SULLIVAN ... JOHN WAYNE ...** and more! This is a side-splitting collection of Red's most brilliant ad-libs... classic sketches ... and hilarious monologues.

His Most Famous Routines

You'll see a rare clip of Red Skelton doing his classic vaudeville skit ... **GUZZLER'S GIN** ... guaranteed to make you howl. Watch his unique original **COMING ATTRACTION PREVIEW** for his laugh-packed film, "Public Pigeon No. 1." You'll roar at the marvelous ad-libs with **Jack Benny ... Ed Sullivan ...** and **John Wayne**. You'll see one of the **most classic** bloopers of all time in a **CLEM KADIDDLEHOPPER** sketch with **Jack Albertson** when Red's real live cow proves she's not housebroken. Plus you get rare clips from a rehearsal show with **Martha Raye** featuring uncensored ad-libs and goofs never seen on TV... a skit worth the price of the entire video tape. If you want to laugh yourself silly at good old fashioned comedy the whole family can enjoy, this Red Skelton show is for you.

Money Back Guarantee

We are so confident that you will thoroughly enjoy this Red Skelton video collection that we will send you your money back if you are not completely thrilled and delighted. If you don't think this collection is the most entertaining you have ever owned, simply return it to us for a complete and unconditional refund. Absolutely no questions asked!

Here Are Just Some Of The Skits You Get!

GUZZLER'S GIN

ORIGINAL COMING ATTRACTIONS FOR "PUBLIC PIGEON NO. 1"

JACK BENNY GUEST SKIT

CLEM KADIDDLEHOPPER TEACHES PEDESTRIAN POLO

WILLIE LUMP LUMP MAKES A SALAD

ED SULLIVAN GUEST SKETCH

UNCENSORED CLIPS FROM REHEARSAL SHOW WITH MARTHA RAYE

FAMOUS BLOOPER SKETCH WITH JACK ALBERTSON

RED AS LORD BEAVERHEAD, BBC NEWSCASTER

RED AS DEADEYE IN WESTERN SKIT

COMEDY SKETCH WITH JOHN WAYNE AND TOMMY SMOTHERS

RED AS CAULIFLOWER McPUGG

...AND MUCH MORE!

Plus a FREE GIFT ... yours for sending us your order within 30 days!

MAIL COUPON TODAY
NO-RISK COUPON

THE GOOD MUSIC RECORD CO.
Video Division, Dept. V8-06-81
352 Evelyn Street, P.O. Box 909, Paramus, NJ 07653-0909

YES please rush the exclusive new RED SKELTON video cassette. I understand that I may return the video cassette for any reason and receive a full refund.

☐ Enclosed is check for $19.95 plus $3.50 postage and handling. Cat. No. VID303
(Mandatory NY, NJ & CA residents add local sales tax.)

☐ **CHARGE IT!** ☐ VISA ☐ MASTERCARD

Acct. No. _____ Exp. Date _____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

© Good Music Record Co., Inc.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lor, not the hero of her piece, called her Madame Nhu. Eugene McCarthy, whom she taped saying something he later pretended that he hadn't, called her "a girl." And Teddy Kennedy, whom she abhorred and still does, called her unprintable things and tried to get her fired. Rarely did anybody try to fire Reuven Frank, who condescended to leave the *Newark Evening News* in 1950 to join that silly thing with pictures. More often, people promoted him, despite his serious misgivings (he says) and sometimes with less money being the price of more august titles.

Both veterans carry us through the Years of the Giants, the Great Men

RANDOM NOTES

■ RIPLEY'S BELIEVE-IT-OR-NOT. At every spring's ABA Convention (see Random Notes, July 8) certain fall books begin gathering momentum. That's the point, really. And if there's no formal handicapping of best-seller candidates, there's plenty of speculation about the coming season's surprises. Of course, the broader the expectation, the less "surprise," but there you are.

Beyond the obvious (new novels by Stephen King, Danielle Steele, Frederick Forsyth, Dick Francis, Sidney Sheldon, etc., etc.) the big fiction winner will probably be *Scarlett* by Alexandra Ripley (Warner Books). Subtitled, "The Sequel to Margaret Mitchell's *Gone with the Wind*," the novel has already made more than $10 million in sales to foreign publishers, and will have a first American printing of something like 500,000 copies. (For perspective: many successful novels begin with printings of 50,000 or even 25,000; King's *Needful Things* will go out at 1.5 million.) Oxford University Press will doubtless benefit from the attention Warner will orchestrate for *Scarlett*; a month later OUP will publish *Southern Daughter: The Life of Margaret Mitchell*. But no matter how well the Ripley rip-off does, it will still pale in comparison to the original. Published at the height of the Depression, *GWTW* sold an amazing million copies in its first six months. That would have to be, what?, five or ten million today. Miss Mitchell never wrote anything else, and spent her last years gleefully suing everyone in sight. Watch for reports of the haunting of Miss Ripley's home and Warner's corporate headquarters.

They who were not buzzing about *Scarlett* were giggling inanely over fat, black-and-neon-green promotional copies of something called *The Boomer Bible*, "written" by one R. F. Laird. Because it is being published by Peter Workman, possibly the industry's only bona-fide genius, people were poring over its parody of Scripture (from the "big ball of gases" to latter-day punks in Philadelphia) and forcing themselves—in the manner of the subjects of the naked emperor in the fairytale—to be *captivated*. But this time the counter-intuitive Mr. Workman, truly a sorcerer, has conjured a dud. He expects the book to be a best-seller, and this time he's wrong. I hope so, anyway; a more boring, humorless, and in every way pointless eight hundred pages has rarely been bound up for sale.

Betting on non-fiction is harder, because even brand-name authors have difficulty making literary lightning strike twice—let alone two dozen times or more, as in the cases of novelists Stephen King and Danielle Steele. Names matter, but non-fiction is mostly a topical business: celebrities and scandals, money and murder, diets and dogs. Now if you can get a celebrity to write about a dog . . . *that's* a sure thing. Bantam has actress Betty White on a seeing-eye pooch called Dinah. And speaking of the blind reading the blind, Bantam has the latest autobiographical work from the latest Shirley MacLaine. And speaking of celebrity self-revelation, Bantam will also offer non-readers *Exposing Myself* by Geraldo Rivera.

Publishers Weekly likes to make a distinction about "serious" non-fiction (as though Geraldo isn't serious about himself and his book), and touts *The End of History and the Last Man* by Francis Fukuyama (Free Press). I attended a small, serious (Russian Tea Room) luncheon for the author during the ABA, and came away wondering if a book of neo-Hegelian analysis can really be destined for notoriety. Publisher Erwin Glikes said, "Well, one thing's for sure: We're the only house at the convention whose catalogue cover has a picture of Hegel." And I think he must be right. Mr. Glikes was also right not to put Eduard Shevardnadze's puss on the Free Press catalogue. I've seen a manuscript version of the Georgian's forthcoming *The Future Belongs to Freedom*, and it needs work. Talk about your deathbed conversions!

And here's a riddle: Why did Gary Sick cross the road? To promote his forthcoming book, of course. Christmas will bring us the Sickster's *A Question of Treason* (Times Books), but the real question is, Come January '92, will CNN ask him back to gossip still more about October '80? Stay tuned for the smoking gun.

Green is out; greed is in. Since only Ted Turner cares about the planet, publishers have written off the environment and bet the farm on the Decade of Greed. I look forward to comparing J. B. Stewart's *Den of Thieves* (Simon & Schuster), an account of the insider trading by Milken, Boesky, and Dennis B. Levine, with *Inside Out* by, yes, Dennis B. Levine (Putnam).

Education looks hot. Basic Books has *The Unschooled Mind* by Howard Gardner, Crown will publish Jonathan Kozol's *Savage Inequities*, and Doubleday presents the latest from E. D. "Cultural Literacy" Hirsch: *What Your First Grader Needs to Know*, and, of course, a sequel, *What Your Second Grader Needs to Know*. At $15 a pop, Mr. Hirsch and his publisher figure to make a couple of hundred bucks off every yuppie family in America—if, that is, he can keep pace through grade 12. Smart publishing. And although it's not really about schools, I like Paul Fussell's newest, if only for its title: *Bad: The Dumbing of America* (Summit).

Finally, there are books about the Gulf War; about Saddam mostly—and far too many, given that with the war's end all most of us want to read is his obituary. But there are a few "victory" books, including at least one major biography of the Bear, *In the Eye of the Storm* (Farrar, Straus) by Roger Cohen, who until recently wrote about publishing for the *New York Times*, and Claudio Gatti. But the big Schwarzkopf news came after the ABA, when Stormin' Norman himself struck a deal with Bantam that may have guaranteed him as much as $5 million for his autobiography to be published late next year. How much did Ike get for *Crusade in Europe*?

—BRAD MINER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who greatly cared and made a great thing of the tube, and into the age of the revolving-door presidencies of (generally though not uniformly) ghastly fellows—among whom the hideous Van Gordon Sauter comes to mind as one of Liz Trotta's least favorite TV execs—and stupid decision-making at every pass. Reuven Frank is discreet about the other networks, candid but rarely catty about NBC. Miss Trotta has burned her bridges one and all, leaving vivid portraits of several Big Names, not least the impossibly cold and power-crazed Dan Rather, who's paid like a rock star and has an ego like one.

You want gossip? Turn to Trotta. You want modulated *Angst?* Thank Frank. You want sweepingly believable analyses of the how, the why, and the when? Welcome to both, who sufficiently esteem what TV can and should be and recoil from the mistake almost inflicted upon the evening news anchor throne—and I don't mean Barbara Walters, who *was* briefly, ineptly in that chair. I mean the "shallow, bright, glib, intellectually lazy" nearly-the-anchor Tom Snyder (Frank); the vulgarian who "specialized in glibness, clouds of inanity, and self-promotion delivered with visibly contrived concern, a passion for local-station hyperbole, and an appropriated expertise on just about everything" (Trotta).

Almost an NBC evening news anchor, and with virtually every other conceivable job and some inconceivable ones passing at some point through his résumé, Snyder also crossed my career path in July of last year, for ten ridiculous weeks replacing me on WBZ Radio before the wrath of listeners and a belated return to reason in management undid the damage. Sadly, WBZ hadn't the Trotta–Frank estimations of Mr. Snyder to read before making the gaffe.

In TV, however, second chances are rare, acknowledgment of blithering blunders rarer. Mr. Frank ran the news division twice not because he was bumped the first time; he chose to retreat to sanity. Miss Trotta was dumped from NBC in a dollar-saving massacre and cast out of CBS because she lacked what Dan Rather deemed "breakaway capacity," which in English means the potential that the Olympians like him sense bespeaks a star emerging. Subsequently, NBC

"Posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to pass away as in a dream."

SUPPORT THE

Eric Voegelin Institute

FOR AMERICAN RENAISSANCE STUDIES

About the business of defending civilization by scholarly means.

With your help, continuing the work of the **Greatest Philosopher of Our Time** into the next century, by:

Assisting publication of *The Collected Works of Eric Voegelin* in 34 volumes by Louisiana State University Press (three volumes available, *The Nature of the Law,* Vol. 27, forthcoming) along with related scholarly studies, including *Eric Voegelin's Significance for the Modern Mind,* Ellis Sandoz, ed., and *Political Sermons of the American Founding Era,* Ellis Sandoz, ed. (Liberty Press).

Conducting conferences and workshops on Voegelin's philosophy and cognate scholarly subjects, including a new series on "Anglo-American Constitutionalism, Liberty, and Free Economies" with a special focus on Eastern Europe and on Latin America, including a workshop on *The Federalist Papers* (Prague, 1991)

Collaborating in production of the television documentary film *Eric Voegelin Philosopher: The Search for Order in History,* to be released in 1992.

Organizing activities of *The Eric Voegelin Society*—7th annual meeting and program in Washington, D. C., at the Washington-Hilton Hotel, August 30–31, 1991, in conjunction with the American Political Science Association convention.

For information write or call: Professor Ellis Sandoz, Director
The Eric Voegelin Institute • Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, LA 70803-5466 • (504) 388-2552, fax (504) 388-2540

To help the cause, *clip and return today:*

LSU Foundation, Eric Voegelin Institute Account
3690 West Lakeshore Drive, Baton Rouge, LA 70808-4686

Please deposit my tax-deductible contribution of:

☐ $100 ☐ $250 ☐ $500 ☐ $1,000 ☐ $ _____

Name & Address _____

_____ Zip _____

Telephone _____ IRS tax ID _____

Check one: ☐ Endowment ☐ Operations

A most intelligent way to invest in the future of civilization!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

banished Jane Pauley from *Today* and slit their throats with Deborah Norville, and ABC now and again makes a mess of *Nightline* by inflicting Barbara Walters on an audience accustomed to Ted Koppel, Jeff Greenfield, and other real newsmen.

Liz Trotta reported excellently from Vietnam, and maintained her avowedly conservative views within a medium dominated—oh no! a TV bias!—by non-conservatives. She generously allows that leftish folks like Peter Arnett and Walter Cronkite are generous people, the better maybe to distinguish them from the snakes, toadies, fools, and consultant-ridden timorous types who make the decisions routinely mucking up TV. Mr. Frank succumbs to some gratuitous Nixon-bashing, misidentifies Patrick Buchanan as the author of a Spiro Agnew speech of some renown—John Coyne (whom Agnew hired away from NATIONAL REVIEW) actually wrote it—and tumbles into the occasional howler, like "Elie Abel arranged for McAndrew and I to meet Secretary Rusk."

Both Miss Trotta and Mr. Frank tell funny stories, enjoy original puns, regard flawed human beings as worthy of protection from irrelevant snideness, and know that what they have been much a part of, television news, might one day again be a glorious thing. They bemoan, but not entirely, not always, and not without chins up and optimism intact. □

The Metropolitan Spirit

JEFFREY HART

MARK WINCHELL has an interesting idea, a new category. Of course a neoconservative could be a literary critic. But is there a distinctive neoconservative *criticism*, as there is psychoanalytic, mythic, explicative, Marxist, or deconstructive criticism? Winchell argues that there is, and makes the case with three quite different writers: Norman Podhoretz, Kenneth Lynn, and Joseph Epstein.

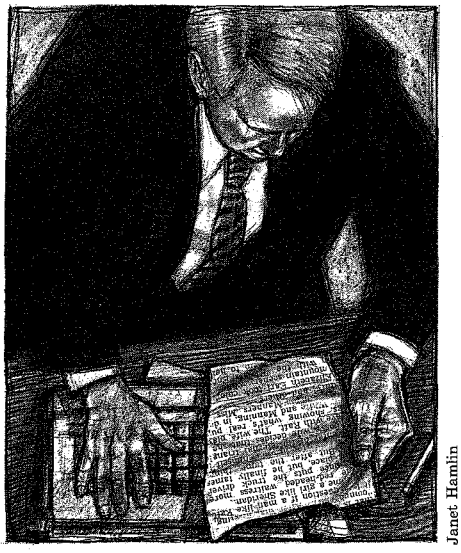
Neoconservative Criticism, by Mark Royden Winchell (Twayne, 173 pp., $24.95)

A Line Out for a Walk, by Joseph Epstein (Norton, 331 pp., $21.95)

Now each of these writers has a great deal to say apart from any neoconservative categorization. Each is an impressive stylist and a fine literary critic; each has re-illumined important works of literature. In that sense they have functioned as all good critics function. But let us consider Winchell's category.

A thumbnail definition of a neoconservative is a former liberal who has become highly critical of today's liberalism. No doubt many such neoconservatives would contest the adjective "former." They would say, many of them, that they remain liberals in the true sense of the word, but that liberalism today has been corrupted by an assortment of bogus ideologies. The latter statement is doubtless true, but operationally neoconservatives are conservatives.

Norman Podhoretz did swim in the murky currents of the 1960s, then climbed out, and today, as editor of *Commentary*, relentlessly attacks the depredations bequeathed us by that decade. The end of Joseph Epstein's liberalism seems to have come as a result of his stint as the administrator of an anti-poverty program in Little Rock. A healthy skepticism grew out of experience.



Janet Hamlin

The case of Kenneth Lynn is not obviously parallel. A student under the brilliant but fellow-traveling F. O. Matthiessen at Harvard, he launched a successful academic career and produced excellent but standard literary-critical works. In mid-course he developed an agenda: the recovery of American literature from ideological distortion and misinterpretation. This agenda gave his critical essays an augmented power and interest, and then energized his masterpiece to date, the 1987 biography *Hemingway*.

Mr. Winchell, who teaches at Clemson, succeeds in making the case that there is a "neoconservative criticism," and on the following basis. All three of his writers are tough and resourceful critics of cultural radicalism and its destructive illusions. In my view, they are neoconservative rather than simply conservative in this respect: they do not carry with them much intellectual weight of tradition, of that sense of the past we find in Eliot, Arnold, or Burke. Their range of reference is nineteenth- and twentieth-century culture.

Joseph Epstein, editor of *The American Scholar* and a professor at Northwestern University, is a very able literary critic in the tradition of Edmund Wilson, and he is a master of the genre of the familiar essay. In the latter role, of which *A Line Out for a Walk* provides excellent examples, those familiar with his work do not blink when he is compared with Hazlitt, Lamb, or even Montaigne. As in the present volume, he can take an apparently minor subject, such as "The Gentle Art of the Resounding Putdown," or the health-fascist campaign against smoking, and seductively involve us in a small masterpiece.

Like Montaigne he writes much about himself, and part of his strength is that he is actually a regionalist, an urban regionalist, one of the very few important American writers who is thoroughly at home in the city. Chicago is his Yoknapatawpha County, Lake Country, northern Michigan. It is surely this urban sensibility that enabled Epstein elsewhere to see and define the greatness of Dreiser. Another aspect of Epstein's strength is his style, sentences of sinuous and elegant structure which weave together high culture and street smarts.

The essays in his book are rich and

Mr. Hart, an NR *senior editor, is a professor of English at Dartmouth College.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marvelous, so rich indeed that I advise you to read them slowly, perhaps one per day. After all, they originally appeared at three-month intervals in *The American Scholar*. If you try to read straight through the book, it will be like trying to read straight through, well, Montaigne.

Here's a sample of Epstein at his best, from a recent *Hudson Review* essay in which he discusses the current fiasco of the American academy:

> "It's not what I had in mind," said my friend, eight, nine, maybe it was even ten years ago. He had just returned from a Modern Language Association meeting in Houston, which he described in what for him was scarifying detail: Marxists, professional lesbians, obscurantists were all over the joint—they appeared not only to be in charge but to give the meeting, and hence the occupation of teaching literature, its character. "It's not what I had in mind," he repeated, wistfully, without irony or anger. He had studied at Columbia toward the close of its glory days . . . Columbia, in the days of his graduate study there, retained an unmistakable and immensely impressive metropolitan spirit, which years afterward still clung to my friend, who taught in a suit and wore a serious hat. But what had once seemed the apogee of the "profession," as university teachers of literature had come to refer to themselves in their collectivity, was now clearly its anomaly. Then in his late thirties, my friend, with his metropolitan spirit and Arnoldian notions about literary culture, was a young fogey, already a dinosaur. Most distinctly, it was not what he had in mind. □

SOUND ON DISC

Commercial Classics

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THE DEATH OF Aaron Copland at age ninety has moved the record companies to begin a systematic reissue on CD of his "major" compositions. But as yet there has been no serious attempt to reevaluate the work of a composer who ruled the American musical establishment as a kind of benign dictator and whose influence continued after he had ceased to produce anything of significance. With Leonard Bernstein, a Copland adulator, also gone to his reward, younger and sharper conductors and musical directors make different judgments.

What we are getting of Copland today is not his early, experimental, and austere investigations of the Ashkenazic configurations on the Wailing Wall, but the later folk-derived and "popular" explorations of the Mexican, the Cuban, and the American, in which he cooled down the sentimentalism of their motifs with his own diluted post-modernism. Time will decide whether he responded truly to what is perceived as the American *Geist*.

Now in *The Copland Collection*, a three-CD album, we are presented with what some acid commentators call "commercial classical"—reissues of *El Salón México*, *Billy the Kid*, *Rodeo*, *Danzón Cubano*, an easily forgettable *Lincoln Portrait* (with an even more forgettable Henry Fonda reciting), *John Henry*, etc. Included, too, is a *Concerto for Clarinet and String Orchestra* with harp and piano, written for and performed by Benny Goodman, who sounds like an impressed Juilliard student struggling to sound portentous. All these works are conducted by Copland, leading a number of symphony orchestras, so that we know precisely how he wanted them to be played—obviously not in the gelatinous Bernstein manner. This is good-to-listen-to music, full of the Copland bravura and the resounding *crescendi* he loved—and much of it perfect for the Broadway ballets it was written for. Whether it will move into the pantheon is a question I leave to my critical betters. (Sony Classical SM3K 49559.)

The verdict, I would say, is already in for Béla Bartók. (He also wrote for Benny Goodman—a composition whose challenge was met by the great jazz clarinetist in a recording with that most demanding of violinists, Joseph Szigeti.) Now the recording com-

Mr. Toledano, a longtime NR *contributor, is a syndicated columnist and author of 19 books. He is currently at work on his autobiography.*

A Great Tradition
Faithfully Preserved
In The Nation's Capital

A PERSONAL PLEDGE

As the owner of The Madison Hotel, I am determined to maintain the highest standards observed in the great hotels and mansions throughout the world.

Marshall B. Coyne
Proprietor

THE MADISON SM
Washington's Correct Address ®
15th & M Streets, Northwest, Washington, D.C. 20005
(202)862-1600
Toll-free Reservations: (800)424-8577 Telex: 64245

SRS HOTELS STEIGENBERGER RESERVATION SERVICE
800-223-5652

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

panies have given us three CDs of Bartók's works which should prove a delight to those whose ears are tuned not only to the centuries old but also to the more recent past: *Violin Concertos 1 & 2*, performed by that fine violinist Midori, with Zubin Mehta and the Berlin Philharmonic (Sony Classical 45941); *Concerto for Orchestra* and *Music for Strings*, with Mariss Jansons conducting the Oslo Philharmonic (Angel/EMI CDC 7 54070 2); and another *Music for Strings* plus *The Miraculous Mandarin* and *Divertimento*, recorded by Sir George Solti and the Chicago Symphony (London 430 352-2). I especially commend the Mehta, for its perceptive and skillfully phrased violin performance, and the Solti, which gives us the exciting suite from *The Miraculous Mandarin*, taken from the music for what was considered, when first produced, a scandalously pornographic ballet. All three records are an unbuttoning of the Bartók genius, his orchestral palette, and the chromaticisms which evolved from his *dodécaphonique* theories.

Three works by Alban Berg are brought together on one CD reissue. Berg, the most brilliant and musically fulfilled of Arnold Schoenberg's disciples, employed the 12-tone cluster of his teacher, though not as didactically, as well as the integrated leitmotifs which follow from composing in that genre, but he brought to this system much of the orchestral depth and effulgence of Mahler. Like other Central European composers, he had the misfortune of being both a Jew and a modernist in the time of Hitler, so that his opera *Lulu* could not be performed in Berlin. A suite derived from the operatic score, however, did get past the Nazi censors. This was no "highlights from," but a symphonic work in five movements, melodically alive and musically engaging. *Der Wein*, a concerto for soprano and orchestra, draws heavily on the cadences of Weimar Berlin's echoes of jazz, on which Kurt Weill based his early style. Like Bartók, Berg created a music which despite its post-modern eccentricities and posturing has its validity today, particularly in this recording, conducted by a perceptive and sympathetic Pierre Boulez, leading the New York Philharmonic. (Sony Classical SMK 45838.)

The corruption of Berlin during the Weimar years, its decadent grotesqueries—given a kind of grimy romanticism by Marlene Dietrich in *The Blue Angel*—were the core and subject matter of Bertolt Brecht, the harshly quintessential Communist playwright. In Kurt Weill, he found the perfect composer to set some of his plays to music. The most famous, of course, was *The Threepenny Opera*, which translated into post–World War I terms the jolly cynicism of John Gay's *Beggar's Opera* and latterly gave us Louis Armstrong singing "Mack the Knife." Weill wrote in a dissonant idiom which was no more jazz than Darius Milhaud's *La Création du monde* but nevertheless evocative of an era. The Brecht–Weill combination also produced *The Seven Deadly Sins* and *Mahagonny*—sharp and bitter attacks on the Western democratic ethos. Weill forgot all this when, fleeing Hitler, he came to America and the capitalist fleshpots of Broadway and Hollywood; he will probably be most remembered for his setting of Maxwell Anderson's poignant lyrics to "September Song." As a writer for the musical stage, he never matched Richard Rodgers or Cole Porter or Harold Arlen. His Brechtian romances, however, do represent an era and a musical voice that reaches us and touches our susceptibilities, and this recording is blessed by the absence of Lotte Lenya's parody of singing. (London 430 169 2.)

(Note to the record companies: I await issues and reissues of Virgil Thomson's works—musically better and more meaningful than much of what Copland encouraged and sanctioned.)

A final word. It was called the "Concert of the Century," celebrating the 85th anniversary of the great Carnegie Hall which Isaac Stern had saved from destruction. And so it is, for it brought together in one momentous evening the great performing talents of Stern, Vladimir Horowitz, Yehudi Menuhin, Mstislav Rostropovich, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau, and the New York Philharmonic, in a program ranging from Bach and Handel to Schumann and Tchaikovsky. It has all been preserved on two CDs and makes for the kind of listening which combines nostalgia and appreciation, capturing as it does not only fine performances but an event. (Sony Classical SM2K 46743.) □

THEATER

Good Times Off Broadway

EVA RESNIKOVA

AS RECOUNTED in this space last time, the serious straight play is becoming an endangered species on Broadway. Furthermore, it seems, the weaker the season, the less even lip service is paid to this unprofitable genre, to the extent that excerpts from the four shows nominated for the Tony Award for best play were expunged from the television broadcast—and, adding insult to injury, replaced by irrelevant numbers from ghosts of musicals long past.

Were the Tony Awards to include plays produced off Broadway—a notion the Broadway establishment continues adamantly to oppose—the New York theatrical picture would look a good deal less bleak. In fact, the best dramas of the season occurred at such nonprofit producing companies as Playwrights Horizons, Manhattan Theater Club, and Second Stage, and some are still available to those planning summer visits to New York. One of the biggest problems facing these nonprofit companies is that their commitment to presenting a series of new plays each season means that the run of a successful offering must sometimes be cut short to make way for the next production. Happily, this season several of the best off-Broadway shows have extended their runs, either in their original venue or at another off-Broadway theater.

For this viewer, the most affecting drama of the season was Lynda Barry's *The Good Times Are Killing Me*, a beautifully written, sensitively observed first-person account of one crucial summer in the life of a girl on the cusp of adolescence. Produced by Second Stage, *Good Times* opened in the spring, extended its run at its hun-

Miss Resnikova writes about theater for NR *and dance for the* New York Observer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dred-seat theater on the Upper West Side, and recently announced an open-ended transfer to the Minetta Lane in Greenwich Village. Though this is the first play from Miss Barry, a syndicated cartoonist, and is based on her novel, it is a completely theatrical work, as well as an emotionally gripping one. You do not have to have grown up female in 1960s suburbia to enjoy this play; but if you did, you will find yourself alternately smiling and wincing in recognition. Though the entire cast is outstanding, individually and as an ensemble, special mention must be made of the 14-year-old protagonist and narrator, Angela Goethals, who gives a performance astonishing in its accomplishment and compelling in its emotional truth.

Also held over from what began as a limited run in the spring is *The Substance of Fire* by Jon Robin Baitz, at

Joseph Borzotta

Playwrights Horizons. This talented young playwright, still in his twenties, made an impressive debut three years ago, at Second Stage, with *The Film Society*. Though flawed, *The Substance of Fire*, a cautionary tale of contemporary New York book publishing, gives further evidence of Mr. Baitz's talent, particularly in his creation of the Holocaust survivor Isaac Geldhart, an emotional monster of a father played to chilling perfection by Ron Rifkin.

Some of the secondary characters are less successfully drawn, however, and the play suffers severe structural problems, with a second act that introduces too many new issues while leaving unexplored those already raised in the first. Still, the play is worth seeing for the wit and intelligence of Mr. Baitz's writing and for Mr. Rifkin's devastating performance.

First-rate performances from Nathan Lane, Christine Baranski, Anthony Heald, and Swoosie Kurtz have helped to make an audience favorite of *Lips Together, Teeth Apart*, by Terrence McNally (the author of *Frankie and Johnny in the Clair de Lune*), at the Manhattan Theater Club, which has similarly extended its run indefinitely (with some cast changes). Two couples in their forties, linked by consanguinity, marriage, and infidelity, spend a weekend at a beach house one of them has inherited from her brother, recently dead of AIDS. Ostensibly, all is paradisaical; but a snake, literal and metaphoric, resides below. A play for the Nineties, *Lips Together* posits as the only refuge and salvation in these "terrible times" unwavering commitment to an intimate relationship and the selective disregard of "the truth." Though Mr. McNally avoids sentimentality, certain attempts at high seriousness do not quite come off, particularly the use of high-flown, *Strange Interlude*-ish interior monologues; and at a certain point, there are simply too many shocking revelations for one play comfortably to contain. But Mr. McNally is a pro, and *Lips Together, Teeth Apart*—a dentist's prescription for avoiding nighttime teeth gnashing—is consistently entertaining.

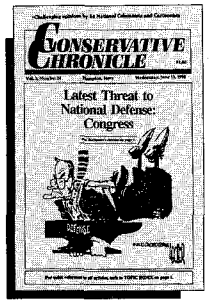
Also notable, but since closed, are *The Old Boy*, by A. R. Gurney, like Mr. McNally an off-Broadway veteran, downstairs at Playwrights Horizons, in which the playwright continues his dissection of WASP culture, and Keith Reddin's *Life during Wartime*, at the Manhattan Theater Club's Stage II, a surreal examination of the terrors that lurk beneath the surface of contemporary suburban life. Even the New York Shakespeare Festival did better than usual in its first entry of the summer of Shakespeare in Central Park—oddly, the only one of its three offerings to be presented in the Bard's native tongue—with an *Othello* starring an impassioned Raul Julia and intelligently directed by Joe Dowling, the former artistic director of Ireland's Abbey Theater. Christopher Walken's motorcycle-jacketed punk of an Iago is not an interpretation one would like to see become institutionalized, but it is an amusing alternative that all but the most plod-

GET WILLIAM BUCKLEY

Now you can read all of William Buckley's columns along with the nation's outstanding conservative columnists and leading cartoonists every week.

William Buckley

If you want to know what all the nation's finest conservative minds are saying about the Middle East crisis, terrorism, the Supreme Court, U.S. defense spending, obscenity, educational reform and individual rights ... now there is **one** convenient source – the ***Conservative Chronicle***!



Every week, read William Buckley's column along with George Will, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., William Rusher, Evans & Novak, James Kirkpatrick, Thomas Sowell, Charley Reese, Warren Brookes, Pat Buchanan, William Safire, – more than **28** leading columnists with conservative appeal.

Enjoy the wit and humor of the ***Conservative Chronicle's*** featured cartoonists, including Jeff McNelly, Dick Wright, Steve Kelly, Mike Shelton, Jerry Barnett, Bill DeOre and Henry Payne.

All 52 issues are yours for $39.00! Cancel at any time and get a full refund on unmailed copies. Write or call:

800-888-3039
(business hours)

Conservative Chronicle
BOX 11297NR, DES MOINES, IA 50340-1297

Yes, *I accept your subscription offer of 1 year (52 issues) for $39.00 (add $25.00 for foreign postage). I understand I can obtain a full refund on unmailed copies at any time.*

Payment: ❒ Check ❒ Bill me ❒ VISA ❒ MC

CARD # _____ EXP. _____

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ APT. _____

CITY _____ STATE ___ ZIP _____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dingly literal-minded would find unobjectionable for a summer evening's entertainment.

For canicular visitors to New York seeking traditional Broadway fare, a couple of musicals can be recommended. Moreover, they are both entirely home-grown products, and both doing good business despite mixed reviews—all of which bodes well for this small corner of American popular culture. *The Will Rogers Follies* is Broadway glitz of the highest order—and no wonder, since the talents behind it include Tommy Tune, Cy Coleman, and Betty Comden and Adolph Green. Keith Carradine is completely engaging in the title role, and the chorus of New Ziegfeld Girls is guaranteed to open the eyes and lift the spirits of the most tired businessman.

A very different direction is pursued in *The Secret Garden*, based on the children's book by Frances Hodgson Burnett, which has the apparently unique Broadway-musical distinction of being created entirely by women. Word of mouth has overcome some disparaging reviews by middle-aged men to turn the show into a hit, especially with women and girls, as has the Tony award clinched by the young protagonist, Daisy Eagan, who won everyone's heart on national television by having the presence of mind to remember, through her trembling and tears, to thank her agent. The show's greatest liability is its fuzzy direction, though changes have reportedly been made since the early performances to help focus the action.

As for the most infamous musical on Broadway, you won't be able to get tickets to *Miss Saigon* before late autumn, but there's no need to fret. The show, from the same team that brought us *Les Misérables*, is a disgrace, morally and theatrically, exploiting the genuinely tragic plight of mixed-race children fathered and abandoned by American servicemen in Vietnam and doing so in pretentious and meretricious Euro-pop-opera style. Though it opened in 1991, *Miss Saigon* feels like the last gasp of an era that collapsed with the crash of 1987. With any luck, we will not see its like again. □

THE GIMLET EYE

Those Hideous Smiles

FLORENCE KING

AMERICANS are so emotionally fragile that soon we will have to be carried around in plastic bubbles and fed with an eyedropper.

Entertainment's time-honored rule, "Always leave 'em laughing," has given way to "Always leave 'em secure." The last segment on news shows now features individuals who do strange things for muzzy reasons.

A man stands on a corner during rush hours to wave at passing motorists. A woman in a state that renews drivers' licenses on the driver's date of birth stands outside the motor-vehicles office singing "Happy Birthday" to everyone who goes in. A man cuts trees on a mountain slope into the shape of a heart visible for miles so that weary travelers can "take heart": Christ of the Andes meets Burma-Shave.

Tim Bower

Asked why he does what he does, the subject shrugs, smiles indulgently at the self-evident question and replies, "I love people."

The jumpy, black-and-white commercial featuring a tormented soul wringing his hands because his long-distance phone system has ruined his life is usually a prelude to the "Family Of . . ." solution. Americans work for a Family Of, are insured by a Family Of, get their mufflers and brake jobs from a Family Of, buy and sell homes through a Family Of, get moved cross-country by a Family Of. Buy something from a mail-order house and you will become a member of the Damark Family; return it and you will become a member of the UPS Family. What all these firms really are selling is the perfect security of High Middle Ages feudalism, with the CEO as lord of the manor.

Like medievalists keeping track of good and evil spirits, we divide people into "threatening" and "non-threatening." The latter, incredibly, is the person who falls upon a total stranger with a bear hug.

We constantly flash hideous smiles involving both rows of teeth. It isn't a smile, it's a rictus; the mouth simply drops open like a crocodile's. The banks of the Wabash have turned into the banks of the Nile.

We meet hostility with salvos of bigger and better niceness and warnings of "There's more niceness where that came from." This is not a virtue. Sunny congeniality and people who can't function without it cause more strain than a fistfight. Moreover, it's completely insincere: these smiling Jacks are simply trying not to get sued by someone even more insecure than they are.

How did we get this way? It began when the first settlers wondered, "Are the natives friendly?" and then found themselves looking at stoic Indians. Unsmiling faces have struck terror in the American heart ever since.

Next we acquired the melting pot. There are so many different kinds of people in America, with so many different boiling points, that we don't know how to fight with each other. The set piece that shapes and contains quarrels in homogeneous countries does not exist here.

The Frenchman is an expert on the precise gradations of *espèce de* and the Italian knows exactly when to introduce the subject of his mother's grave, but no American can be sure how or when another American will react, so we zap each other with friendliness to neutralize potentially dangerous situations.

The heritage of aloof warmth that

Miss King is the author most recently of Lump It or Leave It *(St. Martin's).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prevails in countries old enough to have had a hierarchical past is not available to us, so we are forced to leap feet-first into cloying intimacy. The tender formality of "*gnädige Frau*" makes old ladies easy to respect, and stiff Englishmen long ago learned to express intrasex affection with "my dear Smith," but Americans have nothing to call each other except first names.

Insecurity produces a strange form of treason in the American heart. In our desperation to believe we are not hated personally, we relax and bask in relief when terrorists say, "It's the American government we hate, not the American people."

Our insecurity keeps us from solving our most pressing problem: crime. The few unequivocal souls who are willing to unleash the necessary curative measures shun politics because they know they would never even get nominated, much less elected. Captive of maudlin priorities, America instinctively shrinks from the only kind of personality capable of solving the problems we constantly deplore. Instead we vote for candidates with whom we "identify," i.e., those whose eyes plead, "Like me."

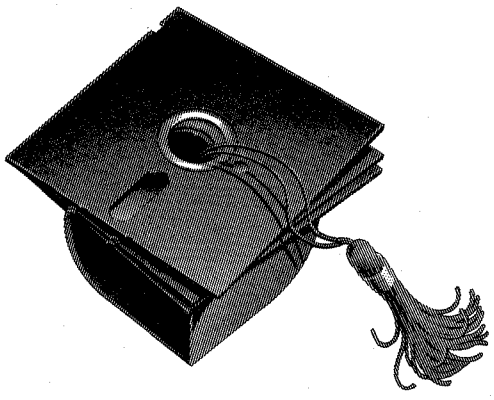
Trying to please others emotionally instead of ethically is the basis of insecurity. Buttering people up carries an ever-present threat of sliding on grease, so insecure people tend to be dangerous. The millions who are currently fiddling with self-esteem while America burns would do well to examine an entry in the journals of James Gould Cozzens:

> The seamy side of human nature. You must be careful how you treat people as your equals. The average person has much more respect for you if, even though he resents it, you make it plain to him that you consider him of no great importance. The line may be a thin one, but if you're nice to him beyond what he, perhaps subconsciously, feels are his deserts he will much more often than not despise you for it.

By contrast, the aloof are sturdy oaks with a host of admirable if paradoxical virtues. Good manners build high walls, so those averse to intimacy make exceedingly pleasant "ships that pass in the night." As long as you remain a stranger they will be your friend forever.

They are punctiliously law-abiding, not because they are good people, but

PRESENTING THE NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE STUDIES PROGRAM



How would you like to study Ernest Hemingway and T.S. Eliot under the tutelage of *National Review* Senior Editor and Dartmouth English Professor Jeffrey Hart? Or the Federalist Papers with constitutional scholar George Carey? Or American Political Theory taught by renowned academic Claremont Professor Charles Kesler?

Now you can, any time night or day – right from the comfort of your own home. How?

Enroll in the *NEW* **National Review Institute Studies Program** and interact directly with instructors and fellow students via your desktop computer. All you need is a modem and you'll have entree into *National Review*'s computerized campus of specially created courses taught by top-notch conservative academics.

A few simple computer keystrokes lets you communicate with your professor and fellow classmates on specific issues and questions within the course.

Tuition per course is $1,150 for full participating students and $600 to audit a course. Students also receive free membership in National Review Town Hall, a new computer meeting place for conservatives. To register for your course or to receive more information, please call 1-800-441-4142 or write the National Review Institute, Attention: Lisa B. Nelson, 150 East 35th Street, New York, NY 10016.

NATIONAL REVIEW INSTITUTE

150 East 35th Street
New York, NY 10016

COURSES BEGIN OCT. 15, 1991

GO BACK TO COLLEGE WITHOUT EVER LEAVING YOUR EASY CHAIR.

I am interested in taking a course this fall, please sign me up for:

- ☐ Jeffrey Hart: *T.S. Eliot & Ernest Hemingway Comparison.*
- ☐ George Carey: *The Federalist Papers.*
- ☐ Charles Kesler: *American Political Theory.*
- ☐ $1,150 (participating) ☐ $600 (auditing)
- ☐ Please send me more information on the National Review Institute Studies Program.

Name

Address

City State Zip

Telephone ( )

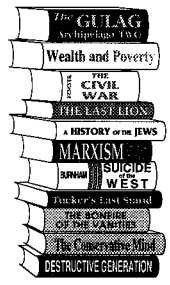
Charge course to my: ☐ MasterCard ☐ Visa 81291
Card Number:
Expiration Date:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

AUDIO-FORUM® offers the best in self-instructional foreign language courses using audio cassettes—featuring those used to train U.S. State Dept. personnel in Spanish, French, Portuguese, Hebrew, Polish, German, Chinese, and more. **Learn a foreign language on your own!** Free Catalog.
Our 19th year.
Call toll-free 1-800-225-5400
Audio-Forum, Room E637, 96 Broad St., Guilford, CT 06437 (203) 453-9794

Name
Address Apt. #
City/State/Zip
I am interested in the following languages:

AUDIO BOOKS



- Low Prices
- Unabridged Recordings
- Purchase or Rent
- Over 300 Titles
- Professionally Narrated

CLASSICS ON TAPE
P.O. Box 969 Ashland, OR 97520

For a **FREE** Catalogue Call:
1-800-729-2665

Nicola Paone
ITALIAN RESTAURANT
Serving Lunch & Dinner
A Perfect Place for Parties
207 East 34th Street, New York
(212) 889-3239

because good people are much more likely to be let alone. The aloof don't commit crimes because they know that prison life is communal. Moreover, long before he arrives at the ultimate communality of prison, the criminal must live a gregarious life. Most crimes require a gift of gab and an ability to inspire trust in the victim. Aloof people never become con artists or fences; as for child molestation, in order to molest a child you must first be in the same room with a child, and I don't know how perverts stand it.

The freemasonry of the insecure that surrounds illness in America explains why we are a nation of hypochondriacs. My worst nightmare is being a patient in a hospital and coming to the attention of volunteer strokers who serenade me with "You'll Never Walk Alone." I am sick—of compulsory gregariousness, fevered friendliness, we-never-close compassion, goo-goo humanitarianism, sensitivity that never sleeps, and politicians paralyzed by a hunger to be loved. Therefore this column will be devoted to winning one for the sonofabitch. □

BOOKS IN BRIEF

A Passion for God: A Daily Guide to Finding Intimacy with God, by John Michael Talbot (Servant Publications, P. O. Box 8617, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48107; 197 pp., $6.95)

GOD AND MAN, wrote Simone Weil, are like two lovers who by some terrible mixup have missed each other at the appointed place and hour. Alternately confident and hopeful, worried and fearful, desolate and heartbroken, sullen and resentful, again patient, and again despairing, one waits and waits and waits.

Like the best spiritual writings, especially of the "daily meditations" variety, John Michael Talbot's *A Passion for God: A Daily Guide to Finding Intimacy with God* reflects the patient, disciplined spirit this situation demands, yet also the faithful lover's quiet yearning. Our long and anxious wait is itself one of Christianity's great paradoxes, he writes, "a seeming contradiction that remains true. . . . The deeper truths of Christ teach us that lasting wealth comes only in poverty, true proclamation only comes with silence, and intimate communion only comes in solitude. . . . Our deepest union with Jesus can only come when he is physically gone. He is only really here when he is gone."

In offering such reflections Talbot is neither too detached and ethereal nor—the more common flaw in such books—too cheery. Like the music for which he is better known (if you've never heard him, *Come to the Quiet* and *For the Bride* are good tapes to start with), his prose is calm, without pretense, and full of confidence and strength.

And it possesses a still more intangible quality: one feels sure that here is a man who lives out the words he writes. Christianity today, writes Talbot, an ex-rock singer, is "counterculture"; Jesus said *Come to me all who are weary* but, we're reminded, he also said *Go, and sin no more*. "Once we do this hard, cold, objective change of lifestyle and begin to seriously follow Christ," Talbot writes, "then the mystical graces follow. After we tangibly take up our cross, then we begin to see its mystical wisdom. Then we really see the wealth in poverty, the freedom of the yoke of obedience, the fulfillment of chaste human love. . . . Until you actually embrace the cross by the action of a changed life, these concepts remain only words." To purge one's sins, Talbot observes, is a sort of death, and "the old self dies hard. Death is painful."

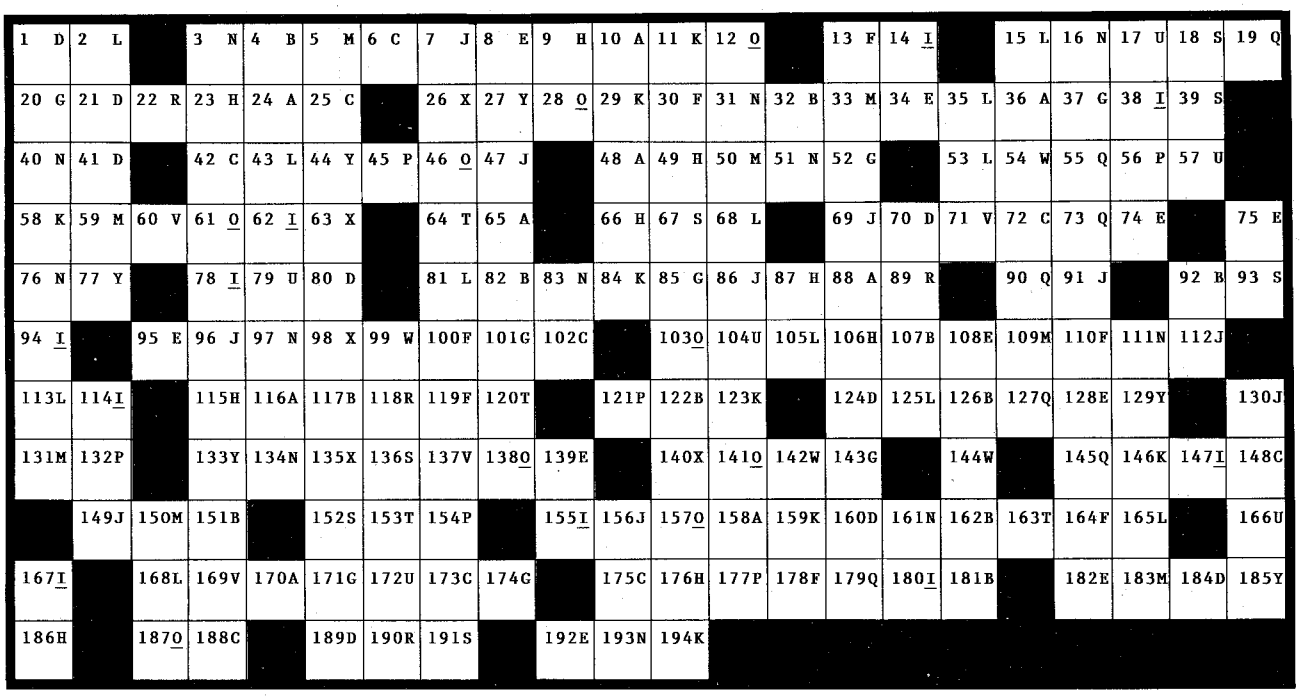
Talbot also has a knack for seeing great truths in the details of Scripture that the rest of us overlook. He reflects for instance on the moment Jesus turned and asked *Who touched my garment?* "He said this," Talbot writes, "even though the whole crowd was hemming him in, no doubt touching him constantly. . . . Apparently, there was a difference between the ordinary touch of the crowd and the touch of faith."

But when our wait grows the most sad and wearisome, in moments of genuine desolation, Talbot reminds us, it's useful to think not of Jesus the Saviour or the Messiah, but of Jesus the man who wept, who himself was abandoned: "Those who ate with him, lived with him, and saw him most intimately would deny him when the going got tough. He would be left to face Calvary alone."

—MATTHEW SCULLY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TRANS-O-GRAM / Kem Putney



DEFINITIONS

A. Cabinet department that shouldn't be — 88 158 116 48 24 36 170 65 10

B. Recently concluded operation (2 words) — 117 82 181 4 126 162 107 92 122 151 / 32

C. Frank Capra's kind of life — 175 188 42 148 6 102 173 72 25

D. Wrong — 21 70 124 184 41 189 1 160 80

E. The Garden State — 34 95 182 192 139 8 108 128 74

F. Annual — 100 119 75 30 110 164 13 178

G. Where Dale Murphy plays — 143 85 20 174 37 101 52 171

H. Cast-downness — 186 106 115 9 87 66 49 176 23

I. Impudence — 94 167 14 180 38 147 78 62 155 114

J. Asserted anew — 86 156 130 91 149 69 7 96 112 47

K. Brownie's counterpart (2 words) — 29 159 194 58 11 84 146 123

L. Obnoxious — 15 165 105 125 2 53 68 81 35 113 / 168 43

M. Career — 50 183 59 109 5 33 150 131

N. Hoosier capital — 51 76 3 31 134 16 161 97 193 111 / 40 83

O. 1941 congressional act (hyph.) — 138 46 141 187 61 12 103 28 157

P. Blush — 177 154 132 45 56 121

Q. In the movie, it was towering — 127 55 145 179 73 19 90

R. Euphemistic expletive — 118 22 89 190

S. Nonbeliever — 93 18 136 152 67 191 39

T. Opposite of that — 64 153 163 120

U. Discharges — 104 79 172 166 17 57

V. Mexican peninsula — 137 169 71 60

W. Bit — 54 99 142 144

X. Watergate name — 98 140 63 26 135

Y. Had a speech defect — 185 27 129 133 44 77

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition. **See page 60 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

Business Opportunities

BECOME a real-estate appraiser. $100,000-plus potential. Home study. Earn professional certification. Free literature. 800-362-7070. Dept. RJ173.

TRAPPED? Do you: Currently earn $100,000+ annually? Know attitude is the second-most important ingredient for success? Want more time to enjoy more money? Know what a paradigm is? Break free! Call 800-243-1242. Free video. 24-hour recorded message. Lifestyles International.

OWN YOUR OWN BUSINESS: innovative, established, growing (11% per month), minimal investment. Written info and video (VHS): 312-764-7100 or NR Box 2052.

Real Estate

WESTERN COLORADO'S heartland, Montrose. Homes, ranches, businesses. Real Estate Exchange. Call Bob, 800-950-9299.

REPOSSESSED & IRS-foreclosed homes available at below market value. Fantastic savings. You repair. Also S&L bailout properties. Call 805-682-7555, ext. H-3068, for repo list your area.

Situations Wanted

44-YEAR-OLD WRITER in utter penury seeking patron for long-term fiduciary relationship. Write: P. O. Box 38, Glen, N.H. 03838.

For Sale

NATIONAL REVIEW's canvas tote bag on sale now. Tote around town with *National Review*'s lightweight canvas bag. Great for books. Be identified with *National Review* "For All the Right Reasons." Send $9.95 plus $2.00 (postage/handling) to *National Review*, Dept. C/Tote, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

Solution to Last Issue's Trans-O-Gram

WILLIAM BENNETT:

Schools

There are greater, more certain, and more immediate penalties in this country for serving up a single rotten hamburger in a restaurant than for repeatedly furnishing a thousand schoolchildren with a rotten education.

ICONS, medieval paintings, traditional Catholic art. Brochure $1.00. Studio Didymus, P. O. Box 5481, River Forest, Ill. 60305.

Resort/Vacation Rentals

EXQUISITE 4-BEDROOM RENTAL, Poipu Beach, Kauai. Tennis, golf. 415-927-4751.

Financial

LET THE GOVERNMENT finance your small business. Grants/loans to $500,000. Free recorded message: 707-448-0270 (KH7).

Educational Opportunities

STUDENT ACTIVISTS. Learn to organize your campus. Build a new generation of conservative leaders. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

LEARN INTERIOR DECORATING. Home study. Gain access to showrooms and earn professional discounts. Great opportunities. Free literature. 800-362-7070. Dept. HJ173.

YOUTH LEADERSHIP SCHOOL. This program launches hundreds each year into effective political action. Get started right. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 800-827-LEAD.

BECOME A PARALEGAL. Work with attorneys. Lawyer-instructed home study. America's finest paralegal program. Free catalogue, 800-362-7070, Dept. LJ173.

SPEAK SPANISH, FRENCH, or any of 59 languages as diplomats do, using same U.S. State Department easy self-study cassettes/textbook. Up to 50% savings! Call for free catalogue, Audio Language Institute, 800-722-6394.

Personal

EVANGELICAL Christian physicist, 28, conservative, white, non-drinker, non-smoker, seeks conservative, intelligent, Evangelical Christian woman, 24–32, for love, marriage, and children. NR Box 2064.

SLIM, OPTIMISTIC, vivacious, 38, Massachusetts-area Republican lady with MBA (Fortune 500 marketing manager, health-care background, part-time college instructor) seeks educated, outgoing, professional, refined gentleman 35–65 for long-term, warm, monogamous relationship. NR Box 2059.

HONOLULU lady, 50, divorced, non-smoker, seeks thinking man for conversation/companionship. Enjoys reading, walking, computers, beautiful music, outdoors. NR Box 2065.

CLASSICAL MUSIC LOVERS EXCHANGE® for unattached music lovers. Nationwide. P. O. Box 31, Pelham, N.Y. 10803. 800-233-CMLS.

JAPANESE, ASIAN, EUROPEAN friendship! Inter-Pacific, P. O. Box 304-N, Birmingham, Mich. 48012.

U.S.–ASIAN CONNECTION. Make lasting penfriends. Free photo brochure. 702-451-3070.

PENFRIENDS, ENGLAND–U.S.A. Make lasting friendships. Send age, interests. Free reply. Harmony, P. O. Box 82295NR, Phoenix, Ariz. 85071.

ASIAN PENFRIENDS! Sunshine International Correspondence, P. O. Box 5500-FH, Kailua-Kona, Hawaii 96745. 808-325-7707.

Professional Services

FINE CHURCHES and residences. John Hattam, architect. Berkeley, Calif. 415-841-5933.

"ARCHITECTURE is inhabited sculpture."—Constantin Brancusi. Fuller and D'Angelo, P.C., Architects & Planners, 595 West Hartsdale Avenue, White Plains, N.Y. 10607-1894.

BUSINESS INSURANCE CONSULTING. William L. Kemp, Chartered Property Casualty Underwriter. Available to review your business insurance proposals on a non-competing basis. $500,000 minimum premium preferred. Write: WLKAI, P. O. Box 417, Whitney Point, N.Y. 13862-0417. Fax: 607-692-2069.

Literary

MANUSCRIPTS WANTED, all types. Publisher with seventy-year tradition. 800-695-9599.

CLASSIFIED INFORMATION

Rates: $3.00 per word with 10-word minimum. Phone number, zip code, and all permitted abbreviations count as one word. Permitted abbreviations include titles (M.D., Ph.D.), organization names (IBM, USMC), state and country names (N.Y., U.S.), and miscellaneous items such as A.P.O., RR, S.A.S.E., P. O. Box.

Special Rates: $2.75 per word per insertion for 4 insertions; $2.50 per word per insertion for 6 insertions; $2.25 per word per insertion for 8 or more insertions.

NR Box Numbers: Available for an additional $10. Include "NR Box ____" in text of ad (three words). Responses will be forwarded. Address responses c/o William Bolan, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

New Service: We will accept display ads in the Classified Section. The rates are as follows: 1 column inch: $125; 2 column inches: $250; 3 column inches: $350. Camera-ready art must be provided.

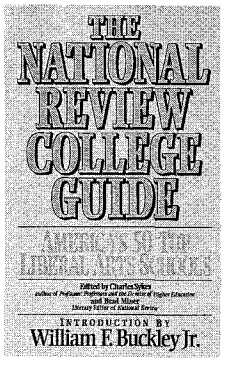
Restrictions: NR does not accept political advertisements. NR also reserves the right to reject any copy deemed unsuitable for whatever reason.

To Order: Full payment in advance is required, by either check, money order, MasterCard, or Visa. Include expiration date with credit-card orders. No telephone orders. Address: William Bolan, *National Review*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRESENTING THE NATIONAL REVIEW COLLEGE GUIDE!

The 50 top liberal-arts schools in America. It helps you identify the schools that make a difference. It describes in detail what makes each recommended school special: curricular common sense; dedicated teaching; administrative sense of purpose; supervised student life; and a congenial campus atmosphere. Available direct from *National Review* for only $14.95, plus $2 shipping and handling. The best investment you'll ever make. Just send $16.95 to: The National Review College Guide, 150 East 35th Street, N.Y., N.Y. 10016.



THE NATIONAL REVIEW STUDIES PROGRAM

How would you like to study the classics of conservative thought under the tutelage of the most respected scholars in the field—**without leaving your own home?** This fall *National Review* will launch an interactive studies program which will allow you to take courses via desktop computer. All you need is a modem for your computer, and you will have entrée to a world of ideas and discussion unavailable anywhere else. Send for your application today. Tuition: $600 for auditing, $1,150 for full participation. Reply: NR Box Studies.

PRE-PUBLISHING SALE

Life & Democracy

By Rudolf M. Herrmann © 1991

The most comprehensive treatise about democracy ever written; this 60-chapter volume is a must for students of political and social sciences.
Purchase directly from the author the original, unabridged, and unedited text. Every volume is individually laser printed and hand-bound, signed, certified, and numbered by the author.
Price per volume $36.00 plus $4.00 shipping.
Please send mailing address together with check or money order to:

Rudolf M. Herrmann
943 N. Expressway #15-83
Brownsville, Texas 78520
(512) 546-4643

Why buy the edited book, when you can have the original text as written?

THE ANARCHIST COOKBOOK available again! $22, postpaid. Complete edition. Barricade Books, P. O. Box 1401-NR, Secaucus, N.J. 07096.

BEST LITTLE STORIES FROM WW II. Paperback—101 historical vignettes from fifty years ago. $10.95. 800-345-0096.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKFINDER. 2035 (NR) Everding, Eureka, Calif. 95501. Send wants.

OUT-OF-PRINT BOOKS located. Whitted, P. O. Box 603-R, Fairmont, N.C. 28340.

OLD BOOKSCOUT locates out-of-print books. Write "Greenmantle," P. O. Box 1777NR, Culpepper, Va. 22701-6324.

Audio

Christian Books on audio cassette!
Free catalog from...
CHRISTIANS LISTENING
Box 87 - Van Wyck, SC 29744
Or toll free ***1-800 / 522-2979***

Situations Available

NATIONAL REVIEW Advertising Dept. needs bright, energetic person to coordinate sales office. Will be involved in customer contact, insertion orders, traffic, and some selling. Computer skills helpful and sense of humor a must. Please send résumé and salary requirement to Mr. Jim McCabe, *NR*, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016.

SO YOU WANT to work in conservative politics? D.C. public-policy internships now available. Send résumé. Leadership Institute, 8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, Va. 22151. 703-321-8580.

MIDWESTERN PRO-LIFE organization seeks dynamic organizer with excellent communication skills to manage volunteers and telemarketing. Fund-raising ability imperative. NR Box 2063.

LETTERS

(Continued from page 4)

ment of converts, so former radicals like David Horowitz ["Back to Our Roots," May 13] can easily find a place within it. However, conservatives should be wary of suggestions that they reform their movement so as to replicate the liberalism of the mid Sixties.

I would like to comment on the particular issues on which Mr. Horowitz would have the conservative movement partly cut bait: abortion and homosexuality.

The presence of a large slab of ambivalence in the middle of the spectrum of American public opinion is no obstacle to the conservative movement's discountenancing abortion and proclaiming that its incidence must be decreased. In this, the movement would be in harmony with the average American. While large majorities oppose a complete ban, they also favor restrictions which, if implemented in law, would bar some 90 per cent of the abortions that in fact take place. (Many voters think, erroneously, that such restrictions are already in operation.) There is a good argument from prudence (not from principle) that the movement should refrain from making support for a Human Life Amendment a litmus test for those who seek the conservative imprimatur. But there is no reason why the movement should not call the pro-abortion radicals to account for their views. Furthermore, it is no more utopian to aim for an abortion-free society than to aim for a racism-free society, as conservatives do, and as Mr. Horowitz's beloved mid-Sixties liberals also did.

Mr. Horowitz's call for a decent balancing act on the homosexual issue—yes to tolerance but no to the radical homosexual agenda—is noble, but I fear it has been overtaken by events. If by "tolerance" one means the civilized treatment one extends to all one's fellow citizens, merely because they are fellow citizens, then Mr. Horowitz's compromise is actually what conservatives such as myself want. The difficulty is, the demands of the organized homosexual movement have since moved far beyond this point. Mere civilized treatment (e.g., not beating them up, not calling them names) is no longer their goal: they have redefined "tolerance" to mean enthusiastic acceptance. Persons deficient in pro-homosexual sentiment are being lumped together with "bigots." Some municipal legislatures are even toying with mandatory "sensitivity sessions" for business leaders—reminiscent of the "re-education" that followed Communist revolutions in the bad old days. In short, it's an illiberal era, and Mr. Horowitz's gentlemanly liberalism may be tragically outdated.

The American conservative movement has always stood both for the just claims of tradition and the moral order, and for the just claims of individualism. Often these claims are completely compatible; at other times they clash. Proclaiming the compatibility and working out the clashes is the task of conservative thinkers. Invitations to throw over one or the other of these two sets of claims are frequently extended to us, but we continue, rightly, to turn them down.

Gary L. Bauer
President
Family Research Council
Washington, D.C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Understanding Ireland

NEW YORK, JULY 8

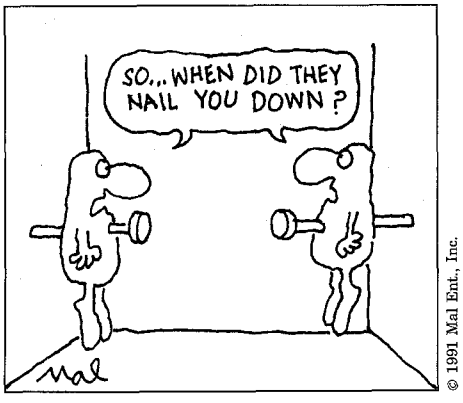
Patricia Ireland, the acting head of the National Organization for Women, had a rousing weekend, culminating in her promise to relieve the United States of the torment that would ensue upon Clarence Thomas's ascent to the Supreme Court. She rests her case quite simply, namely on the woman's right being a constitutional right. We should examine the implications of this position.

If the right to abort is a constitutional right, even though it is not listed in the first ten Amendments, among the Bill of Rights, or in the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, which constitutionalized the Emancipation Proclamation, certain things follow upon this. It becomes much more than merely a civil right, about which there can be contention on into the ages. If *Roe* v. *Wade* should be thought of as a part of the Constitution, then it would follow that no one who disputes *Roe* v. *Wade* is qualified to sit on the Supreme Court, for the simplest of reasons, namely that in order to do this, one must promise to defend the Constitution of the United States. We know, for instance, that Justices Byron White and William Rehnquist voted against *Roe* in 1973. If it has constitutional status and in any future decision they expressed their dissent from *Roe*, then we have, surely, grounds for impeachment.

Moreover, if this were true, then it was derelict of the Senate Judiciary Committee not to persevere in its questions to nominees O'Connor, Bork, Kennedy, and Souter on the matter of abortion. If a senator were to say to Judge Thomas, "Tell me, judge, do you believe that Congress should make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances?" it would not do for Judge Thomas to say, "Sorry, senator, but I cannot comment on any matter that may present itself to the Court in the future." Because the senator would then say, "But I am quoting from the Constitution of the United States, which you would have to promise to observe and defend!" It is very difficult to see how Mrs. Ireland et al. aren't saying that to the words just quoted there has been an accretion, and that the amendment in question should go on to read, "Congress shall make no laws prohibiting the freedom of abortion."

It is only when examined in this light that the hyperbole appears—wearing, so to speak, only the G-string of a single opinion by a court, with which opinion many judicial scholars and historians, whatever their own views about abortion, continue to disagree.

But the argument cannot rationally go forward unless the Choicers agree to acknowledge the question of whether other rights are involved than the woman's right when an abortion takes place. The *New York Times* on Saturday featured on its op-ed page four photographers' notions of what is wrong with America, one of which was nakedly (and even blasphemously) anti-Catholic—it pictured a man wearing a Roman collar (not to be confused with a rabbi) handling a steel crucifix as one might a pistol, and holding it, ready to fire, at the temple of a young man. The text records the photographer's complaint that "some religious groups" (not to be confused with Christian Scientists) have made victims of "millions of women [who are attacked] on their most painful private choice of conscience: whether to have an abortion."



© 1991 Mal Ent., Inc.

This is the critical paralogism in the Choicers' line of argument. What they should be saying is that the woman's right to abort is superior to the right of the fetus to live. About that there can be argument. There can't be argument unless it is acknowledged that there is a *question*. Otherwise, disputants pass one another by on opposite sides of the street.

And then of course the Irelands of this world are impaled on a paradox of their own making. If it is true that the women of America, plus the majority of the men of America, believe in that right as enunciated by *Roe* v. *Wade*, why do they need a judicial excogitation of it? The Fourteenth Amendment became a part of the Constitution through due process. Why not go for a constitutional amendment here? Or, if not that, simple votes by the state legislatures, authorizing abortion on demand? □

Who Are We Mad At?

NEW YORK, JULY 10

Here is the situation. You are #4 in rank, and you are made privy to a secret operation. It is so secret that even #2 doesn't know about it. And neither did #3—he only just now found out. From whom? From you. Well, how did *you* find out? Oh, from somebody else, Oliver North. Not from #5, because Colonel North worked not for the CIA, but for the White House. And inside the White House the operation was so secret that even the President didn't know anything about its details. All that Colonel North told you was that the operation was in pursuit of a policy that the President openly advocated, namely aid to the Contras, fighting to overthrow the Bolshevik totalitarians in Nicaragua.

Suddenly the thing blows up in your face. An airplane is shot down by the Sandinistas and they find that it is full of arms going to the Contras. You resolve to pass on to your superior, #3, what Colonel North has told you.

At this point the whole thing goes public, and the President tells the American people that he has asked the Attorney General to look into the matter. At just about that time, #1 has a stroke, and is confined to the hospital, where he is permitted to speak only to Bob Woodward, after which he dies in peace, but leaving the vale of tears he inhabited more tearful than ever as people struggle to find out exactly what happened.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The two most prominent people in Washington tell us that they knew nothing about the operation: the President, and the Vice President. And of the dozens and dozens of people questioned, not one of them testifies that he/she had reason to know that indeed Mr. Reagan or Mr. Bush, or both, were aware of the details of the operation. And so . . . after months and years of investigation the subject begins to go away when suddenly #4 goes before a judge to say that he lied when he testified in 1986 to the effect that he didn't know the details of the Contra operation. Whereat there is great rejoicing in Washington by the doddering grandfathers of the Contragate Chase, hoping that, finally, they have struck gold. If #4 is now telling the truth and did indeed tell #3, maybe #3 will go to the judge and say that yes, he knew, but he was acting on orders not to blurt out the truth, orders given to him by #1. What about #2? The question is very much with us, because Robert Gates (#2) has been nominated to be #1.

The story begins with a division of opinion on foreign policy. The Congress of the United States is yo-yoing on the matter of help to the Contras. Yes one year, No the next, Yes the next, No No No the next three, under the aegis of the so-called Boland Amendment.

The President of the United States is gravely concerned over congressional tergiversations, and so expresses himself in public. And, one must suppose, in private. Whereupon his Director of Central Intelligence winks at the National Security Advisor, and together they scheme. Iran wants arms to defend itself against Iraq; we have arms sitting out there someplace that can easily be sold. What to do with the profits? Buy arms and send them to the Contras.

Now that decision was probably illegal but not certainly illegal. By which is meant that there is a school of thought not composed only of Executive ultramontanists who simply say Yes every time you ask whether the President has the power to do this or that. These are serious people who believe that the President's pre-eminent responsibility for foreign policy, combined with his authority as Commander-in-Chief, entitles him to make such decisions as were made to give arms to the Contras. The prevailing view is that the Executive exceeded its authority, and this is my own view. Besides which, since we are to understand that the President did not personally authorize the enterprise, it wasn't even the Executive acting on its own authority: it was a runaway CIA.

But even if we join in declaring that Mr. Casey exceeded his authority, it isn't derivatively clear that #4 was morally wrong when he denied having knowledge of a secret operation. Speaking to the House Intelligence Committee may not be exactly the same as speaking on the *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, but there are resemblances, and we should be careful before we automatically assign moral blame to a subordinate for testifying in such a way as might have, in his judgment, protected human lives. □

Democracy—A Cure-All?

NEW YORK, JULY 15

When, at a television seminar in Berlin a year ago, Ambassador Vernon Walters said in passing that no democracy in this century had initiated an aggressive war, my memory churned in search of the exception. Unsuccessfully, because the ambassador was right. Granted, he was saved by the tolling of the nineteenth-century bell. His figure was hallowed by only a year or so, given the Spanish–American War of 1898, which is difficult to view other than as an aggressive war by the United States against the Spanish empire, never mind whether it was justified.

So then that is certainly one up for democracy. But the enthusiasm for democracy seems incautiously optimistic. Moreover, it requires the crystallization of acceptable boundaries. It is jarring to recall that during this century, Wales and even Scotland were discussing the kind of "devolution" that would have meant, in effect, self-rule. A few miles to the west, the disorder and the killings go on in Northern Ireland. The odds that Canada will split open are very good: Quebec appears adamant in its insistence on Québec Libre, a movement abetted by Charles de Gaulle when he visited Canada 24 years ago. Ten years ago Chile and Argentina very nearly went to war over the question of who should govern the region around Tierra del Fuego. And of course, holding center stage are Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. If they gave everyone a vote tomorrow, and the vote included the right to define boundaries, how many countries would evolve from that fissiparous mess? Five? Ten? And on whose side should the grown-up nations be? Should we pull for independence for the Baltics? Surely the answer is Yes, though the official position in Washington is No. But how about Slovenia? Or Georgia?

The dogmatists' assumption that democracy tends to wash away the exorbitant sins of a people is otherwise disturbed by a knowledge of history. India is in a state of high combustion, and has assassinated two leaders in recent history. In a way, it is comparable to Portugal before the First World War and immediately after, until Salazar took charge (Salazar took charge! But he was a dictator. That's right, he was). And a decade after that, Spain all but fell apart, suffering over a million casualties in one of the goriest civil wars in modern times. What then happened was that Franco took charge (Franco took charge! But he was a dictator. That's right, he was). In Chile in 1970, Salvador Allende was elected president, never mind that in a three-way election he garnered only 36 per cent of the vote. What then happened was three years of ripening strife. In the summer of 1973 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional two of the actions of Allende, the country was headed for civil war, and Pinochet took charge (Pinochet took charge! But he was a dictator . . .).

What would you do if you were Mr. Fujimori, the democratically elected president of Peru? The figures, as of the weekend, are that the terrorists, supplemented by the counter-terrorists, last year killed what would be the equivalent of fifty thousand people in the United States. "Democracy" in Peru does only the dainty service of legitimizing the role of the president and the legislature. But democracy does not have the power to do anything effective to curb the terrorists, and the army does not seem to have the strength, or the resources, finally mobilized by the Filipinos to quell their terrorists in 1954. Meanwhile Colombia, which is off and on as a democracy, but has been one now for 33 years, seems to have two governments. The drug government lays down the terms under which it will agree to stop killing Colombian candidates for the presidency, and other folk. And these terms include the power to alter the constitution, so as to forbid (for instance) extraditing Colombians to the United States. Which brings to mind the interesting metaphor: Is a democracy that exports a huge volume of drugs to another country not engaged in "aggressive action" against that country? If not, what exactly do you call it?

Enthusiasts though we are for self-rule, it pays to scale down our faith in its magical properties. We need to go much further in refining what it is that marks civilized life, and self-rule is only one part of it. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

OFF THE RECORD

Howard's Folly. With Clarence Thomas's confirmation hearings approaching, Cato decided to look back at the last time Mr. Thomas went before the Judiciary Committee. Much of that inquisition had to do with his tenure as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, particularly with reference to age-discrimination cases that had lapsed.

There, at the very end of the 251-page transcript, we found the little exchange we were looking for. A somewhat agitated Senator Howard Metzenbaum (D., Ohio) was arguing the EEOC had deprived people of their rights by failing to follow up on certain cases. Mr. Thomas vainly tried to explain that under the law states were responsible for investigating these complaints. The senator continued literally to make a federal case of it, saying, "I have to tell you, Mr. Thomas, I think you are 100 per cent wrong, and if I am wrong I will publicly apologize."

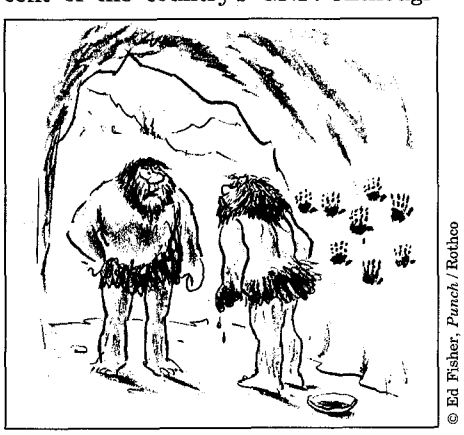
Well, Cato did some checking with EEOC Vice Chairman Ricky Silberman, who confirms that the senator was quite wrong. In cases where the states and the Federal Government have similar laws, it is the responsibility of the state agency to investigate the charge. Clarence Thomas had it right. Not only that, Mrs. Silberman noted that if Mr. Thomas had not computerized the EEOC's records so as to foster accountability, Senator Metzenbaum would never have known about all those cases in the first place.

Public apology at a time and place of your choosing, senator.

Whip Creaming. When the Democrats got together to choose a new House Whip in place of the departing Representative William Gray (Pa.), Beltway pundits had Representative David Bonior (Mich.) facing a close battle with Representative Steny Hoyer (Md.). They saw Mr. Bonior's solid pro-life voting record as a skeleton in his otherwise liberal closet. Even clued-in types like Jim Glassman, editor of *Roll Call*—Congress's unofficial trade newsletter—predicted that Hoyer would win by a nose.

But Congressman Bonior bucked this current wisdom. Even in a party with a militant abortion-on-demand platform, he refused to flip-flop, predicting his stand would cost him eight votes. (In the end it cost him nine.) Not surprisingly, the media post-mortems made little of the fact that Bonior's pro-life position didn't hurt him in his 160 to 109 victory, or that his refusal to waver from principle probably even helped his reputation. Call us cynical, but the Fourth Estate might have seen it differently had Mr. Bonior lost.

Hold the Glasnost. Mikhail Gorbachev continues to get high marks in the West for his reforms, but former Soviet Ambassador Arkady Shevchenko (author of *Breaking with Moscow*) is doubtful. At a recent lunch with foreign-policy experts, Mr. Shevchenko argued that, since the Soviet military has dibs on all the country's raw materials, economic progress will be impossible until the military/industrial complex is forced to control its appetite. He noted that in a recent speech in Minsk, Mr. Gorbachev remarked that the military consumes 20 to 25 per cent of the country's GNP. Although the speech was broadcast, this figure was deleted from the printed version run in *Pravda* the next day. If Mr. Gorbachev can't control journalists, what chance has he of controlling generals?



© Ed Fisher, *Punch* / Rothco

"I suppose you think that makes you some sort of spokesman for the arts in our society!"

Fair's Fair. Republicans in Congress are trying to take back the tax issue once again, and as part of this effort Senator John McCain (R., Ariz.) has introduced the Tax Fairness and Accountability Act. Eagle-eyed readers will remember that in the fine print of last year's budget fiasco, the Democrats changed the law so that it requires only fifty Senate votes to raise taxes but sixty to lower them. Senator McCain's bill would reverse that arrangement.

The bill has 18 co-sponsors already, but Phil Gramm is not among them. The Texas senator has burned many of his bridges with conservative groups by supporting last year's budget summit agreement as well as by his opposition to new tax cuts, even modest proposals to trim back the Social Security tax. He is, however, now chairman of the Republican Senatorial Committee. Just for a riband to stick in his coat . . .

G.I. Jane. Your mother can put away her army boots, at least for now. In the aftermath of the war with Iraq, the tireless Congressindividual Pat Schroeder (D., Colo.) led the charge to repeal combat restrictions on women. The House duly passed a measure to repeal laws exempting women from combat duty on Air Force and Navy aircraft.

When the Senate Armed Services Committee took up the question in a closed-door session, Senator Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) introduced a measure to repeal all combat restrictions, a move opposed by Senators Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) and John Glenn (D., Ohio). Senator Glenn was appearing on the *MacNeil/Lehrer* show while this was going on, but he left an aide behind to warn him of an impending vote. In the event the Kennedy proposal was put off, and instead the committee opted for a presidential commission to study the issue—which in the normal course of things would mean a two-year delay. The question now is, if the measure is brought to the floor, do the feminists have the troops to win? —CATO

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Tablelinens of Visa.®
Take your pick.

Go ahead—enjoy high-fashion tablelinens in your life every day. These are high-performance Visa tablelinens. And they don't have to be reserved for special occasions.

The Visa family of fine tablelinens offers you hundreds of fashion colors, styles and textures to choose from. So you can dress up your table anytime with the same flair you bring to the rest of your home.

And the extraordinary Visa easy-care performance features are built right in:

- Stains wash out
- Colors stay bright, whites stay white
- Little or no ironing is needed

It's enough to make you retire your "other" tablelinens forever. Because when you think of it, life's too short to entertain with anything but Visa.

America's Freedom Fabric
Visa
Fabric that cares for itself. And you.
Tableaux

®VISA is a registered trademark of Milliken & Company for fabrics

CRAFTED WITH PRIDE IN U.S.A.
MILLIKEN
DU PONT DACRON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WITH HOURLY SERVICE BETWEEN NEW YORK AND BOSTON OR WASHINGTON, GUARANTEED BACK-UP

PLANES, ASSIGNED SEATS WITH NO RESERVATIONS REQUIRED, AND A MINIMUM OF 1,000 ONEPASS℠ MILES ON EVERY FLIGHT, THE TRUMP SHUTTLE IS THE ONLY WAY TO FLY.

THE TRUMP SHUTTLE

PEOPLE. PERFORMANCE. PRIDE.

JUL 29

Earn 1000 OnePass℠ miles for every flight thru 12/31/91. For more information call your professional travel agent or The Trump Shuttle at 1-800-247-8786.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED